Who Carries Forward Lenin's Fight Today?

— SEE PAGE 3 —

THE MILITANT

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UAW DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL FROM WLB

Ward "Seizure" By Government Ruled Illegal

Chicago Federal District Judge Philip L. Sullivan on January 27 brought joy to the hearts of the labor-hating employers by ruling that Roosevelt's army "seizure" of 16 Montgomery Ward properties was illegal. This decision upholding the "sacred private property rights" of Sewell L. Avery, No. 1 Open-Shopper, demonstrates once more how the capitalist government and its legal agencies defend the interests of the owning and ruling class.

Roosevelt's "seizure" of Avery's properties last December in order to halt the spreading strikes of the Ward workers was hailed by union leaders as a "great victory" for organized labor. The administration attempted to represent the move as a determined effort to enforce the War Labor Board directives which Avery had defied for years. Actually, it was intended to break the strike and bolster the tottering authority of the WLB, Roosevelt's chief agency for imposing compulsory arbitration and the wage-freeze.

Judge Sullivan's ruling has exploded like a bombshell among Roosevelt's labor lackeys, who have been pointing at the Ward "seizure" as "proof" that the workers can place dependence upon the capitalist government and Roosevelt regime to "protect" labor's interests. It is now crystal clear that the sole practical and permanent effect of the Ward "seizure" was to break the Ward strikes.

The Ward "seizure" merely snatched the strike weapon from the hands of the Ward workers and shoved them into the barbed wire entanglements of the boss courts. There, as always, their struggle became enmeshed in a thousand steel judicial strands. The courts provide innumerable devices for binding the workers hand and foot and defending the property "rights" of the employers.

SULLIVAN'S DECISION

Judge Sullivan's decision typified the hair-splitting that characterizes capitalist judicial practice in bending the laws to the benefit of the capitalists. He decided that Montgomery Ward did not come within the strict terms of the Smith-Connally Act, because the company was primarily engaged in "distribution" and not "production." Moreover, it was not "directly" engaged in "war effort." It was "legal" for Roosevelt to "seize" the coal mines and railroads at the behest of the owners to break or prevent strikes because the "war effort" was involved. But the President "may not seize private property just because it might be useful or beneficial to the armed forces."

Capitalist patriotism ends where capitalist property "rights" begin. It's all right however, to freeze wages by decree, freeze jobs, impose forced labor, place millions of workers into uniform to kill and be killed in Wall Street's war. That's "legal"!

Of course, Roosevelt's administrative agents and labor lieutenants are howling that Judge Sullivan's ruling will destroy Roosevelt's machinery for "peaceful settlement" of labor disputes. They are clamoring about its "adverse" effect on the current CIO United Automobile Workers' referendum on the no-strike pledge. WLB Chairman Davis complained that the "whole plan of peaceful settlement of wartime labor disputes will collapse."

But the open-shoppers are jubilant. With the court's announcement, Ward stocks immediately shot up several points. Avery sarcastically commented that it was a "great day for labor." The N. Y. *Times*, mouthpiece for the Morgan banking interests, pompously editorialized that Judge Sullivan's ruling was "bound to command respect . . . scholarly, judicious in tone . . . impressively argued."

The farce of the Ward "seizure" has demonstrated that the workers can defend their interests only by discarding all dependence on capitalist "friends of labor." Break the shackles of the no-strike pledge and withdraw all labor support from the corporation-dominated War Labor Board! Labor can rely only on its own organized strength and independent program of militant action.

Army Suspends WLB Orders in Ward Case

CHICAGO, Jan. 29 — Army officers operating 16 government - seized Montgomery Ward properties today announced they are holding up application of all War Labor Board directives in the Ward case until the legality of such action is clarified. This decision followed the ruling of Federal District Court Judge Sullivan that the "seizure" was illegal.

Thus, after years of delay and two "seizures," the Ward workers, organized by the CIO United Wholesale, Retail and Department Store Employes Union, are still being denied their WLB-approved maintenance-of-membership contract, minimum wage raises, and hundreds of thousands of dollars in back pay.

Released Trotskyists on Minneapolis Arrival

Leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO photographed in the Great Northern railroad station at Minneapolis after their release from Sandstone penitentiary on January 24, 1945. Left to right: Emil Hansen, Farrell Dobbs, Albert Goldman, Oscar Coover, Vincent Dunne, Felix Morrow, Carl Skoglund, Carlos Hudson, Max Geldman, Jake Cooper, and James P. Cannon.

The Homecoming Of The Twelve

By Larissa Reed

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 24 — Today broke crisp and clear and the sun poured down upon the Great Northern railroad station. But within the station it was still dim and empty at 10:30. Soon almost a hundred people, arriving by foot and by car filled it with their voices, smiles and movements. For 13 months they had awaited this day, awaited the train bearing eleven men from Sandstone prison. "You wait and wait for this day and all of a sudden it's on top of you," said Harry DeBoer, who had been in prison with them for over ten of those months. He drew himself up and tried to look calm and collected, but his hands were not quite steady.

The big business press sent no reporters to the station; they were continuing their conspiracy of silence. A local paper carried a perfunctory item: "12 Radicals to Leave U. S. Prisons Today," announcing that 11 men in Sandstone and one woman, Grace Carlson, in Alderson, West Virginia were today being released from prison. That was all.

Yet these released prisoners are the heroic fighters for the working class known throughout the Northwest as leaders of the labor movement. In 1934 they led the mighty series of struggles against the bosses that for the first time made Minneapolis a union town. They were sent to prison not only because they are militant and loyal trade-unionists but also because they are Marxist political leaders, Trotskyists. Alone they stood out against the second imperialist war and told the truth about its reactionary aims. They said over and over again: "This is Wall Street's war—this is a war for profits—the workers have nothing to gain from it."

For their courageous fight against the bosses, against the capitalist war, and for their revolutionary socialist ideas, these Trotskyists earned the hatred of powerful enemies and misleaders of the workers. Two of these enemies, one, the President of the United States and the other, President of the AFL Teamsters International, conspired to railroad the 18 to prison. Symbolically enough, they were sentenced on the day war was declared. They began serving their terms at the end of 1943. Today 12 of them were coming out.

How do they feel? How do they look? What do they think? Almost a hundred people were waiting...and watching the clock. "The train arrives on Track 9 at 11:39," said the gate-keeper. He surveyed the crowd with surprise. "This must be something special," he remarked.

"THE TRAIN IS IN"

Through the window pane above the track I saw the yellow Diesel engine nose its way around the curve. Nobody seemed to speak, yet everyone heard "The train is in." Nobody seemed to move, yet the crowd had formed into a huge semi-circle around the gate, closely packed, silent, tense with anticipation.

For a fraction of a moment the spell of waiting was unbroken. Carlos Hudson was first up the stairs. Then, like a series of electric shocks, in quick succession followed the others: Albert Goldman, Vincent Dunne, Farrell Dobbs, Emil Hansen, Jim Cannon, Carl Skoglund, Felix Morrow,

(Continued on page 4)

Roosevelt Puts On Pressure For Forced Labor Measures

By Joseph Keller

Confronted by mounting labor opposition to his "National Service" scheme for regimenting the workers and undermining the unions, Roosevelt and his leading brass hats are pressing ever more urgently for speedy enactment of the May-Bailey forced labor draft bill, now before Congress. This bill contains features more harsh in some instances than the original Nazi slave labor code on which the Roosevelt plan is modeled and which inspired his cynical slogan, "This is a war of free labor against slave labor."

The success of the administration's conspiracy to enslave American labor in the interests of the profiteering corporations required the strategy of speed and surprise. Roosevelt's plot, therefore, was to shove through a forced labor bill before the labor movement had time to mobilize its ranks for resistance and before his sinister anti-labor intent could be fully exposed.

With this aim of speed in mind, Roosevelt timed his renewed forced labor drive to go into high gear at the moment when popular fear of a prolonged war slaughter was at its height, during the unexpected military reverses on the Belgian front. Roosevelt unleashed a fraudulent propaganda scare-campaign about munitions "shortages" that was designed to play upon the fears of the masses for their loved ones in the battle lines and break down their opposition to labor regimentation.

However, despite the careful planning of the administration, its forced labor blitz time-table has already been upset. It has run into several unforeseen obstacles, causing delays which increasingly imperil the administration's original scheme.

ANTI-LABOR AMENDMENTS

One unanticipated snag has been created by the very eagerness of reactionary Congressmen to respond in the same labor-hating spirit as Roosevelt's forced labor demand. In their desire to "strengthen" the bill and eliminate any possibility of loopholes, Roosevelt's more unrestrained Congressional colleagues, particularly from the Democratic South, are competing to attach to the forced labor measure all sorts of cruder anti-labor amendments. Their slobbering eagerness to embrace Roosevelt's plan and even "improve" it has not only delayed its enactment but exposed the original bill for the viciously anti-labor measure that it is.

One amendment was designed to undermine union security by abrogating closed shop union contracts for workers forced into

(Continued on page 5)

Extra! WLB Bucks Big Corporation

Here's one time the corporation-dominated War Labor Board took issue with a big employer.

Last week the board in Washington rejected a proposal of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company to grant one week's vacation with pay after six months' service and two weeks after one year for all 44,000 store, plant, warehouse and office employes. The board instead insisted upon one week's vacation after one year's employment and two weeks after three years' service for all except the office employes, who were granted the original request.

This rejection of the company's own request for most of the A & P employes was justified on the grounds that most of the workers were already getting vacations on the basis approved by the WLB and to adopt the company's plan would be to "violate" Roosevelt's wage - freezing, wage-stabilization program!

Auto Workers' Board Calls On CIO To Initiate Break

Wage-Freezing Agency Which Union Chiefs Bolstered Now Termed 'Useless Instrument'

By Art Preis

The International Executive Board of the CIO United Automobile Workers, largest and most dynamic union in the country, last week adopted a resolution calling on the CIO to withdraw its support from Roosevelt's War Labor Board. The resolution stated that this government agency has now become "a useless instrument."

This blow to the tottering prestige of the War Labor Board was occasioned by a ruling of Director of Economic Stabilization Vinson, who directed the WLB to make no further wage increase grants without prior approval of the Office of Price Administration. This, in effect, removes all final authority from the WLB to another agency on which labor has not even formal representation.

The UAW-CIO leaders' action came as the climax to a whole series of rotten deals handed labor by the Roosevelt administration in connection with and through the War Labor Board. In its three years of existence, the WLB has earned among the workers the title of "Graveyard of Grievances." Major wage cases in auto, packinghouse, textile, rubber, glass and aluminum, have been stalled as much as two years. The steel wage case was "settled" with all major wage demands denied. At the same time, the WLB pussyfooted endlessly with powerful open-shop employers like Avery.

This has produced a violent revulsion among the workers. The hostility to the WLB is expressed most sharply in the auto workers union, where opposition to compulsory arbitration and the no-strike surrender policy have forced the holding of a national referendum on the no-strike pledge.

Today, almost every worker recognizes what **The Militant** has contended since the WLB was first established—that the WLB was designed to shackle the workers to compulsory arbitration, impose the wage-freeze, curb independent militant labor action. From the start, the "impartiality" of the WLB was a deliberate fraud.

WLB ANTI-LABOR

The rising indignation of the auto workers and the complete exposure of the WLB as a pro-corporation, wage - freezing, strikebreaking instrument of the capitalist government has finally compelled the UAW leaders to echo the demand of the ranks that labor get off the WLB. This is a belated confession of the WLB's anti-labor function and character.

But the UAW leaders themselves share responsibility for foisting the board on the workers. The UAW tops, along with all the other labor lackeys of Roosevelt, were the original advocates and supporters of the

(Continued on page 5)

Albert Goldman Greeted at CRDC Chicago Meeting

CHICAGO, Jan. 27—More than 200 people attended the meeting on January 25 sponsored by the Chicago Branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee to honor the 12 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544-CIO released from prison where they had served 13 months as a result of the Minneapolis "Frame-up Trial."

The principal speaker was Albert Goldman, defense attorney in the trial and one of the 12 prisoners who were released on January 24th. His appearance on the platform brought forth an ovation from the audience. In a stirring speech Albert Goldman declared that progressive ideas have never in the last analysis been destroyed by persecution and reaffirmed his allegiance to the ideas and principles of revolutionary socialism.

Charles Liebman, American Civil Liberties Union attorney, greeted Albert Goldman and denounced the Smith "Gag" Act, under which the 18 defendants were railroaded to prison, and urged the continuation of the fight for its repeal.

PLEDGE SUPPORT

Louis Petros, member of the bargaining committee of Buick Local 6, UAW-CIO addressed the meeting, stating that his local was on record in support of the fight to defend the 18 and against the reactionary Smith "Gag" Act. He said that these convictions represented a danger to all organized labor.

Frank Consago, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Shoe Service Employees Local 1143-CIO, and Willard Townsend, President of the CIO United Transport Service Employees Union, sent messages declaring the support of their unions to the fight of the CRDC against the Minneapolis frame-up.

Telegrams and letters of greeting and solidarity from branches and locals of the Socialist Workers Party from New York to San Diego were also read to the meeting by chairman Lydia Beidel. $135.00 was contributed by the audience for the purpose of continuing the splendid work of the CRDC. Among those in attendance were a large number of auto workers.

BRITISH TROTSKYIST RUNS FOR PARLIAMENT

(Special to THE MILITANT)

LONDON, Jan. 18—Jock Haston, National Secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Great Britain, will stand as candidate for Parliament in a forthcoming by-election at Neath, South Wales. Comrade Haston was one of four British Trotskyist leaders recently released from prison when the Appeal Court quashed frame-up convictions obtained against them by Churchill's government on charges of "furthering a strike."

The election campaign will present the program of Trotskyism to the militant miners of South Wales, who have conducted a series of magnificent strikes during the war. The Welsh miners have continuously battled against the miserable wages and the conscription for mine labor which have been maintained by the colliery owners with the acquiescence of Labor Party Members of Parliament.

One of the central slogans of the Trotskyist platform is nationalization of the coal mines without compensation, a demand repeatedly put forth by the miners themselves in their struggles for better conditions. Comrade Haston will also demand nationalization of the great steel trusts which dominate the tinplate industry in the Neath area. These two industries control almost the entire life of the population of South Wales.

Comrade Haston will convert the election into a test of the mood of the British working class. Neath is a labor stronghold, represented in Parliament by Labor Party candidates since 1922. Under the Tory-Labor Party coalition existing since the outbreak of the Second Imperialist World War, the seat now vacated by the death of Sir William Jenkins will not be contested by

(Continued on page 2)

Auto Militants Broadcast Strong Appeal For Revocation Of The No-Strike Pledge

By J. Kirk and R. Weston

DETROIT, Jan. 21—The rank and file campaign to revoke the no-strike pledge in the current CIO United Automobile Workers referendum is daily gathering momentum and support despite the terrific flag-waving propaganda of the CIO and UAW leaders, backed by the corporations, government and rabid Stalinists.

A high point in the auto militants' drive to win a majority vote for rescinding the pledge was the half hour radio program presented last evening over Station WJR, Detroit, by the powerful Briggs Local 212, which has been taking a leading part in the struggle against the no-strike surrender policy. WJR is the largest radio broadcasting station in Michigan.

Thousands of Michigan auto workers heard the hard-hitting appeal from the Local 212 members. From all over the state supporting messages are already beginning to pour in, testifying to the wide-spread sympathetic response the broadcast has evoked. The addresses of Local 212 President Jesse Ferrazza, John Murphy, Chairman of the Briggs Hamtramck unit; Ruth Bailey, rank and filer from the Briggs Mack Avenue plant; Gordon MacDonald, Local 212 Vice-President; and Leo Ellery, Chairman of the Local 212 Skilled Trades Committee, struck the militant chord that the auto ranks have wanted to hear.

Ferrazza quoted the statement of a delegate to the UAW 1942 convention assailing the fraudulent "equality of sacrifice" slogan and the War Labor Board, who declared, "We haven't had collective bargaining in this union since we gave up the right to strike."

That complaint voiced over two years ago, declared Ferrazza, "has been heard over and over in one form or another by workers employed in plants under United Automobile Workers contract from coast to coast. And herein lies the crux of the no-strike issue. To ask: 'Shall we or shall we not have legitimate collective bargaining?' Collective bargaining means that labor can, by its organized strength, resist the downward pressure on its living standards and working conditions by organized capital. But without the right to strike labor's combined strength means little or nothing."

Ferrazza pointed out that the

(Continued on page 5)

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Textile Wage Case Conspiracy

Some workers undoubtedly still have the illusion that the Roosevelt administration attempts to exercise "impartiality" in arriving at wage decisions. But the reality is the exact opposite. The rigamarole of War Labor Board hearings and other government abitration procedures is designed to conceal behind-the-scenes conniving between the administration and the big employers.

The actual mechanics of one such conspiracy have been partially disclosed by recent developments in the textile wage case, including Director of Economic Stabilization Vinson's intervention in this and other pending cases. This intervention came in the form of his letter to the WLB "requesting" that agency to grant no wage increases of any nature without prior approval of the Office of Price Administration.

By his action, Vinson succeeded in blocking a final decision of the WLB after it had indicated its intentions of lifting slightly the "sub-standard" wages of the terribly exploited textile workers. Further, he established an entirely new basis for "settling" wage disputes. Not the "merits of the case" are the criteria, but whether wage increases, however paltry, "affect costs and prices" —as the profiteering corporations always insist they do.

Moreover, final authority in wage disputes is no longer to reside in the official arbitration agency, the WLB, but in the "price control" agencies, where the unions do not even have formal representation. Thus, the administration has contrived a neat device for nullifying wage increases even in those few instances where the WLB, in order to preserve its prestige as an "impartial" agency, is compelled to grant "fringe" raises.

* * *

Apart from the obvious general fact that Roosevelt's underlings and appointees, including Vinson, merely implement the administration's wage and labor policies, in this particular case there is concrete evidence that Vinson acted in accordance with White House directions. Moreover, as we shall show, Vinson had a secret "understanding" with the leading textile manufacturers.

The first public knowledge of the general contents of Vinson's letter to WLB chairman Davis came in a CIO statement of protest issued in Washington on January 12. This statement also contained a copy of a letter sent by Roosevelt to CIO President Murray. Roosevelt's letter — into which the CIO leaders attempted at first to read a message of "hope" — clearly indicates that the inspiration for Vinson's action came straight from the White House.

In his letter discussing the administration's broad wage policy, Roosevelt emphasized just one point—the effect of any wage increases upon prices. "Naturally, any proposals for a change in our present policy must be considered in relation to their probable effect upon the price structure and upon our general anti-inflation program. The board (WLB), therefore, will submit its report to Judge Vinson whom I then expect to advise me in light of the board's findings, as well as all other relevant information. As to objectives, we are in perfect agreement. We must not permit the price level to rise."

It may be noted with reference to the last sentence that the compelling reason advanced by the unions to demand wage increases has been precisely that prices have already risen — at least 45 per cent since January 1941.

* * *

It can now be proved, furthermore, that Vinson acted not only with Roosevelt's approval but also upon secret agreement with the textile bosses. That is why Vinson's letter to the WLB was timed to halt release of the WLB decision in the textile wage case.

The irrefutable evidence of this administration-employers conspiracy to defraud the textile workers is contained in a document made public on January 23 by Emil Rieve, President of the CIO Textile Workers Union.

This revealing document is signed by William P. Jacobs, Executive Director of the Print Cloth Group of Cotton Manufacturers, Clinton, S. C. It is dated January 12, 1945. It is fittingly titled, "Another Progress Report."

The document begins: "After spending another week in Washington, I give you another confidential report on price ceilings and wages. On this trip, I conferred with Judge Vinson, having previously conferred with Justice Byrnes. He arranged the conference with Judge Vinson for us." What a spirit of cordiality and cooperation!

The report goes on to confide: "On wages the judge seemed better informed and more interested but still non-committal." "Better informed and more interested" here means sympathetic to the sweat-shop operators' view; "non-committal" means cautiously refraining from any *open* commitments.

Then comes the real pay-off. "This matter is now in his (Vinson's) hands, and from the pressure that we know has now reached him it is possible that FOR POLITICAL REASONS he may be forced to indefinitely hold the matter, or he may recommend a basis somewhat lower than the WLB would authorize. From conferences which I held I know that Justice Byrnes, Senators George, Maybank, Russell and Governor Gardner, and perhaps others have insisted that he do nothing which will wipe out the traditional North-South differential."

To what "political reasons" does this Southern sweatshop representative refer? Obviously the need of the Roosevelt regime to preserve its political ties with the powerful Southern Democratic Bourbons. The whole deal was engineered through Roosevelt's right-hand man, Byrnes, the so-called "Assistant President."

The report then observes: "The interview (with Vinson) was satisfactory and resulted in a hopeful conclusion, again indicating the effect of pressure FROM HIGHER UP and perhaps from the letters which you have written to members of Congress. I RAN INTO THAT AT MANY POINTS." Such understanding and co-operation from the "higher ups" and legislators! Indeed, the textile manufacturers had every reason to anticipate a "hopeful conclusion." And they were not disappointed.

* * *

It need merely be added that WLB chairman Davis is now engaged in a bit of shadow-boxing with Vinson. Naturally, to prop up the WLB's tottering authority, Davis is compelled to disclaim responsibility for the administration's connivery. He is "disputing" in a polite way with Vinson's "interpretation" — although conceding Vinson's authority to enforce his "interpretation."

However, Davis and Vinson have cooperated to keep their skulduggery hidden from the workers. The United Press reported on January 24 that the text of Vinson's letter **"was made available despite efforts of both WLB Chairman William H. Davis and Mr. Vinson to prevent it from being made public."**

Socialist Workers Party Fund Drive Tops $15,000 Mark On Release Of Comrades

$18,000 Party Expansion Fund

A Fitting Welcome to Our 18 Class-War Prisoners

By Rose Karsner, Campaign Director

"It's a wonderful thing to have a party to come back to. To know you are not alone; that the long time you put in was not in vain." That was the comment made by one of the released comrades about an hour after the arrival at the Minnepolis SWP headquarters.

This remark was called forth by a telegram of greeting from the National Office which also gave the information about the final total for the January 27th Scoreboard of the Socialist Workers Party Expansion Fund Campaign.

The jump from 59 percent to 83 percent in one week represented a special effort on the part of every single comrade who made the total possible. It represented an expression of solidarity with the returned "warriors"—a way of telling the world how Trotskyists react to the persecution of their party and its members.

The results of this special effort cannot be regarded as a mere organizational achievement. It was a political action fraught with significance for the further development of the revolutionary socialist movement in this country. As Leon Trotsky wrote at the Founding Conference of the Fourth International in September, 1938: "The present epoch is distinguished not for the fact that it frees the revolutionary party from day-to-day work but because it permits this work to be carried on indissolubly with the actual tasks of the revolution." That is the way we Trotskyists view all our party obligations.

All indications are that the full $18,000 will be in before the termination of the campaign on March 1, and that by that date we will go well over the goal set. A number of the hundred percent branches have already informed the National Office of their cartoon choice. Others write that they have not made their selection as yet but will do so soon.

FROM THE BRANCHES

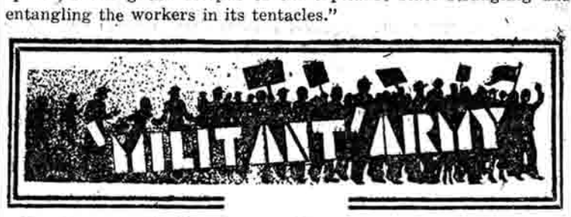
San Francisco, A. Alexander: "Another $100 on the day of our comrades' release from prison! Now we are sure that our branch will go over the top. We are beginning to examine the cartoons very carefully so we can make a good choice."

Boston, F. Daniels: "Enclosed find money order. This won't be the last by any means. We still have money pledged which should run our total close to $500 before the campaign ends on March 1st." Boston has decided to take the cartoon 'Capitalism in War and Peace' which appears in the center of the Labor Party pamphlet, if it is still available."

Buffalo, P. White: "Enclosed please find check in the amount of $111, bringing our branch well over its quota. There are still some pledges outstanding on the campaign and we expect to forward these by February 23d."

Philadelphia, D. Fitzgerald: "We shall meet the full quota by February 23d, sooner if we can possibly manage."

Milwaukee, B. Crane: "Our branch feels proud to have upped our pledge and then have gone over our quota. It was not too easy. If no other branch has already requested the cartoon illustrating 'The Only Road,' we would like to have it. A second choice would be the fine cartoon by Gray printed with Comrade Jackson's New York speech, showing the octopus of the capitalist state strangling and entangling the workers in its tentacles."



San Francisco is obtaining excellent results from their Sunday mobilizations. Our agent, R. Haddon, reports as follows:

"Of the 27 trial subs, 21 were obtained in San Francisco — 18 on last Sunday's mobilization. Five of us went out. We are experimenting with neighborhoods in an attempt to determine where we can get the best results and also keeping in mind our determination to get some subs from the more stable element in town — people who have lived and worked here prior to the war. So, we hit the Mission district and worked in it for two hours. It was difficult going . . . but one of our people remarked that a year ago we would have had no luck at all. So, though 18 subs is not a tremendous amount, we were very impressed with our Sunday's work. Next Sunday we hit another working class neighborhood.

"This type of work we are now doing is much harder than hitting the projects. But we believe it is important for us to get trade unionists from among permanent San Francisco and East Bay people if possible. And we are going to try."

* * *

A report from Al Lynn, our Los Angeles, agent, comments about the type of subscribers they are getting: **"I observe that by far the great majority of subs we have been sending in for the past few months have been for industrial workers. This is a positive indication that the actual roots of the party are going deeper and deeper into the labor movement. Also these subscribers are practically without exception unionists."**

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A. West, our agent in Toledo, reports a phenomenon that is occurring in all parts of the country: "We have many **Militant** subs from people miles around Toledo and this is due to the factories here where people travel far to work. Some subscribers upon finishing with their copies pass them on to fellow workers who take them home. This helps to expand our paper outside of Toledo. The subscribers in Monclova are examples of what I mean."

* * *

A reader in Mexico City expresses her appreciation of **The Militant**:

"To a person in a foreign country, **The Militant** comes as a special messenger of hope. I find that I invariably turn to the 'Militant Army' first, and second to the current campaign report. These two features are like letters from home, telling of the activity and progress of friends. So much has been said in praise of Grey's and Kovalesky's columns and of Gray's cartoons that more is superfluous. They have added tremendously to the popular appeal that is essential to a labor paper.

"I have an upsurge of pride every time a new issue of the paper arrives. Pride first because of the high political level of the articles it carries and second because of the excellency of the workmanship the staff of The Militant has attained."

SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Milwaukee	$100	$120	120%
Buffalo	400	435	109
Boston	400	427	107
Toledo	300	317	106
Youngstown	300	316	106
Akron	300	300	100
Cleveland	250	250	100
Detroit	1250	1250	100
Newark	450	450	100
Pittsburgh	80	80	100
Reading	75	75	100
San Diego	150	150	100
N. Y. Maritime Club	3000	2960	99
San Francisco	1000	925	93
New York Local	3000	2348	78
Twin Cities	1000	702	70
Philadelphia	200	125	63
Seattle	1500	900	60
Los Angeles	2500	1394	56
Chicago	2000	1100	55
Bayonne	300	129	43
Members-at-large, groups and friends:	300	330	110
TOTAL		$15,083	84%

Meetings Of SWP Branches Commemorate Lenin's Work

NEWARK, Jan. 22 — An attentive audience of Newark workers last night heard Harry Bronson deliver a memorial address on the occasion of the twenty-first anniversary of the death of V. I. Lenin. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Newark branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

Recounting the life and work of this great revolutionary leader, Comrade Bronson laid particular emphasis on Lenin's role during the first World War. After explaining how the workers at that time were betrayed into supporting the imperialists, Comrade Bronson contrasted this to Lenin's irreconcilable opposition to the war. This opposition was an integral part of the revolutionary socialist program with which Lenin later led the Russian workers in their victorious struggle to establish the first workers' government in history. Tracing the recent events in Greece, Italy, Belgium and France, Comrade Bronson exposed the reactionary purpose of the present "war for democracy."

"Only by building the Trotskyist movement, which bases itself on the program of Lenin," the speaker concluded, "can the workers eliminate the capitalist system which is responsible for the present world slaughter and all of the terrible suffering flowing from it."

MINNEAPOLIS — Twin City branches of the Socialist Workers Party observed the anniversary of Lenin's death in a special session of the Twin City Sunday Forum held on January 21. Homage was paid to the ideas of Leninism, the program of the socialist revolution, by Dorothy Schultz who addressed the well-attended meeting of comrades and friends.

"Lenin, the man, is dead, but Lenin's ideas — the ideas of Marx and Engels — still live today. We, as Trotskyists, honor those ideas, not as something in the dead past, but as a program to be followed and carried out day by day in the building of a revolutionary party," said Comrade Schultz.

A biographical sketch of Lenin's life was given by Elaine Roseland, chairman of the meeting, in which Lenin's part in the Russian Revolution and the organization of the Bolshevik party were recounted. In a special appeal for contributions to the Socialist Workers Party Expansion Fund, a collection of $45 was taken.

Youth Group Holds Forum

Dave Ellis, a member of the Communist (Stalinist) Political Association, who had previously agreed to speak for the affirmative in a debate "Can Stalinism Lead to Socialism?" at the Socialist Youth Forum January 19, was threatened with expulsion from the CPA, if he appeared. He did not appear.

Sandy Robertson, a member of the Trotskyist Youth Group, answered the question "Can Stalinism Lead to Socialism?" with a resounding "No!" Comrade Robertson analyzed the nature, roots and development of Stalinism, reviewing its counter-revolutionary program today. Following the speech the floor was opened for discussion.

On January 26 the Socialist Youth Forum discussed "America's Role in Europe." The main speaker, Jerry Alberts, showed how American imperialism is attempting to crush the revolutionary actions of the European masses.

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URUGUAY TROTSKYISTS HOUNDED BY REACTION

MONTEVIDEO, Jan. 4 — The government of Uruguay last November launched new persecutions of the Trotskyist movement through its anti-labor 'court for control of anti-national activities.' Several members of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League have been hailed before this court, which combines the functions of a Dies Committee with the powers of prosecution, and questioned at length on their political beliefs.

The witch-hunt proceedings, which were temporarily halted by a judicial holiday, will be resumed in March when the court reconvenes. This new assault follows an attack made upon the Trotskyists by the Minister of the Interior last June. At that time, in a week-long session, the Minister repeatedly raised the specter of "Trotskyism" to whitewash the government's vicious anti-strike laws. Names of many Trotskyists were furnished to the government by Stalinist finger-men.

At the November inquisition the Trotskyists were questioned on their attitude toward the imperialist war and their activities in the trade union movement. That the court may attempt a frame-up similar to Churchill's and Roosevelt's imprisonment of Trotskyist leaders is indicated by many of the questions.

"What do you think of the present war," the defendants were asked. "Of the countries at war, does any one merit special aid? What is your position towards Nazi-Fascism? What do you think of the Democratic-Republican regime of government? Are you an advocate of the dictatorship of the proletariat?"

As in the June attack, when attemps were made to blame the Trotskyists for 'inciting' a strike in local packing houses, the basis was laid for a widespread victimization of union militants. "What do you desire for Uruguay?" the court demanded. "Does the Revolutionary Workers League propose to foment a strike in any establishment or company?"

Special emphasis was laid on the ideas of the Fourth International by a series of questions including: "What do you think of the Fourth International? Have you ties with Fourth Internationalist groups in other countries? Are you a follower of Trotsky? Do you share his idea of the 'Permanent Revolution'?"

Maintaining their party work in spite of the government's attempts to intimidate their ranks, the Trotskyists in Uruguay are continuing to publish their paper, *Contra la Corriente* (Against the Stream), and are winning new recruits to the banner of revolutionary socialism.

British Trotskyist Enters Election For Parliament

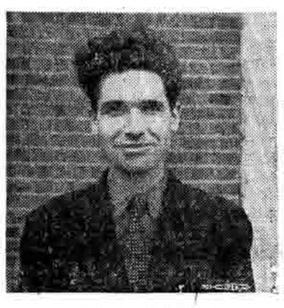
(Continued from page 1)

other parties of the coalition government. Thus the candidacy of Comrade Haston will enable the Neath workers to express their dissatisfaction with the Tory-dominated government and help labor reassert its independence in political action.

The British workers have demonstrated by mass protest meetings their bitter antagonism to Churchill's murder of Greek workers. Labor Party Members of Parliament have continued to support Churchill in open betrayal of the workers' demands for non-intervention in Greece. Comrade Haston will call upon labor to break the coalition, overthrow the Churchill government, and take power on a socialist program.

SOCIALIST STRUGGLE

In accordance with Marxist principles, the campaign of the Revolutionary Communist Party will proclaim the party's irrecon-



JOCK HASTON

cilable opposition to the imperialist war. Comrade Haston will appeal to the British workers to extend the hand of friendship and fraternity to the German working class and to aid them in the overthrow of Hitler and the establishment of a socialist Germany. He will oppose the vicious program of Vansittartism which would reduce Germany to colonial status. He will explain why Vansittart's plan for reparations, blockade, and revenge upon the workers of Germany, can only prepare the way for further bloody struggles of imperialism. To this vicious scheme the party counterposes the call for "Land to the peasants and factories to the workers throughout Europe and the world."

One of the major demands of the Revolutionary Communist Party is for immediate and unconditional freedom for India and all the colonial peoples.

Comrade Haston, who has become well-known throughout England as a result of the frame-up trials last spring, has spent most of his 32 years as an active participant in the class struggle of the British workers. Since 1938 he has been active in the Trotskyist movement as a speaker, writer and organizer. He is now assistant editor of the *Socialist Appeal*.

Comrade Heaton Lee, who was railroaded to prison with Comrade Haston, will act as his campaign manager.

Pioneer Notes

The New York Branch of the Socialist Workers Party at 116 University Place is very proud of its attractive illuminated literature stand, built by a seaman comrade who is unusually handy with carpentry tools. Books, pamphlets, the magazine and newspaper are all clearly displayed and readily accessible. The stand is placed near the entrance of the City Organizer's office on the third floor and a colorful, well lighted display draws the attention as soon as one enters the room.

This branch makes an interesting observation: "We find that many old-timers in the revolutionary movement are beginning to drop up to find out what has been happening generally, what the Party is saying about current events here and abroad, what new publications have appeared, as well as 'to talk things over.' They usually have to do considerable catching up and are glad to take advantage of the special offer of the three books for $5.00, (Trotsky's "In Defense of Marxism," Cannon's "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party," and "The History of American Trotskyism"). In these three books they find much of the essential reading material about party developments up to the present time.

Almost everyone who buys the new Labor Party pamphlet makes some comment on its attractive appearance. We find that people are very conscious of what they missed and want to make up for it. They are off to a good start when they read "The Struggle for a Proletarian Party," "In Defense of Marxism" and "The History of American Trotskyism."

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We Carry On Lenin's Fight Today

(The following speech was delivered by Comrade M. Stein, acting National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, at the memorial meeting held in New York Jan. 21, 1945 on the 21st anniversary of Lenin's death. The meeting was held at Irving Plaza by the New York local of the SWP.)

By M. Stein

I can well remember the grief that gripped the hearts of the revolutionary generation twenty-one years ago when the news came of Lenin's death. I can well remember the anguish of men and women when they learned that Lenin was no more, that his great brain, his dauntless heart, his iron will, which gave wisdom, courage and power to the toilers, to the oppressed the world over, were no more. Never was the death of a man mourned so deeply by so many. The multi-millioned masses of the Soviet Union felt orphaned with the death of Lenin, and wherever oppression exists, wherever men are exploited in the capitalist countries and in the colonies, he was mourned by the downtrodden.

There were, of course, deep social reasons for this. Lenin was a true disciple of Marx and Engels. His masters, the founders of Scientific Socialism, did not have the opportunity to put their ideas into practice. Lenin was presented with that opportunity. On the fourth year the devastation and misery of the First World War broke capitalism at its weakest link in Czarist Russia. Together with Trotsky, Lenin led the great revolution that wrested power from the capitalists and established the workers' power in a country that stretched over one-sixth of the earth.

But the establishment of the workers' power in the Soviet Union was to Lenin only the first step. Lenin was an internationalist through and through. He knew that the October revolution was only the opening round of a life-and-death struggle between the power of the exploiters and the liberating forces of the exploited the world over. He knew and he never tired of repeating it—that this struggle must be fought to a finish, that capitalism and socialism cannot live peacefully side by side for any length of time. This is why the Soviet Union was to Lenin only the citadel of the world revolution. The Red Army was not a national army; it was the army of international revolution. The Third International, founded by Lenin, was the general staff of the world revolution.

When Lenin said that he would, if need be, sacrifice the Russian revolution for the sake of a German revolution, he gave graphic expression to his world view of the struggle for the Socialist society. What he meant was that he was interested in the best possible position from which to spread the world revolution. He was concerned not with a country's boundaries or nationality, but with conquering the most favorable positions from which the proletarian revolution could be spread and extended on a world scale.

The grief at Lenin's death, which gripped the revolutionary generation 21 years ago, was tempered only by a feeling of confidence that Lenin's rich heritage would remain forever. That Lenin's doctrines would survive after him. That Lenin's co-workers would carry on in his spirit. That the Soviet Union would remain the citadel of world revolution. That the Communist International would by its collective wisdom and effort make up for the loss of the great leader.

Stalin's Betrayal of Leninism

But history willed it differently. History does not run along a smooth and even course. Not that opportunities were lacking for spreading the October Revolution. Lenin's characterization of our epoch as the epoch of wars and revolutions has been borne out to the hilt in the interval between the two imperialist wars and confirmed again by the second imperialist war. Capitalism emerged out of the last war in a condition of deepest crisis. Capitalism's equilibrium had been disrupted. One revolutionary wave followed another in country after country.

But where was Lenin's Comintern? Where was Lenin's Soviet Union? It was only when Comrade Trotsky's voice finally made itself heard and reached across the borders that we learned what had transpired. It was then that we learned the truth, namely: that when Lenin's firm hand was no longer at the helm of the Soviet ship, it was boarded by a gang of pirates under the leadership of Stalin, who reversed the course charted by Lenin, who dismantled Lenin's superstructure of workers' power, and substituted in its stead the power of a ruthless totalitarian bureaucracy. A whole generation of Bolsheviks was exterminated.

Lenin's Third International, conceived in the struggle against the treachery of the Second International, conceived in the struggle against the traitors who supported the last war, had itself succumbed to treachery. A generation of revolutionists, educated by Lenin in the spirit of uncompromising struggle for the proletarian revolution became corrupted by Stalin. Stalin succeeded in house-breaking the Comintern, in transforming it into a pliant servant of the privileged Soviet bureaucratic caste, and when he no longer had any use for it he contemptuously kicked it aside.

The crimes for which Lenin castigated the leaders of the Second International are dwarfed in comparison to the crimes of Stalin. The workers' blood that was shed by the Noskes and Scheidemanns when they crushed the Spartacus uprising, when they murdered Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht and thousands of German workers, would only form a stream compared to the rivers of blood shed by Stalin and Stalinism in the murder of Bolsheviks, in the treachery in China, in the betrayal of the German revolution, of the Spanish Revolution, etc.

Many have asked the question: What if Lenin had not died an untimely death at the age of 54? What if he lived another ten or fifteen years? Would this have changed the course of history? It is, of course, beyond anyone's powers to answer such a question. But let me remind you that it was the opinion of Nadezhda Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, who had occasion to reflect on this theme, that if Lenin were alive, he too would have languished in Stalin's jails or have been shot by Stalin's GPU.

Stalinists Fear the Ideas of Lenin

Stalin usurped his power because of deep-going social forces. Lenin died in a very critical period in the history of mankind. He died at a time when capitalism had temporarily regained its equilibrium and had crushed the workers' revolution in a number of countries. The Soviet masses were exhausted by a long civil war imposed on them by the imperialists and by the White Guards. It was out of the forces of the rising reaction inside the Soviet Union and abroad that Stalin derived his strength.

Had Lenin remained alive, Stalin would at least have been deprived of the possibility of wrapping himself in Lenin's mantle, of deceiving the masses in Lenin's name.

Lenin's name and Lenin's writings are a constant threat to Stalin's rule. They are like a ray of light falling on the spot where a hideous criminal is engaged in his work. If only Stalin could burn Lenin's works; if only he could expurgate Lenin's name out of the minds of the workers—he would then feel a lot safer. But this is beyond Stalin's power and this is why even today, 21 years after Lenin's death, Stalin and his cohorts must try desperately to falsify and distort Lenin.

I read the other day an article written by Browder on the 21st anniversary of Lenin's death. It is a brief article compared to all the long articles in which he has been eulogizing Roosevelt and Teheran. Browder has even written a whole book expounding the gospel of Teheran, but when it comes to Lenin Browder evidently believes that the less said the better. The opening sentence of that article shows how the spector of Lenin haunts Browder and his "Communist Political Association." It reads: "There has been some discussion about the immediate practical value of the study of Lenin's writings. . . There has been some expression of fear that emphasis upon the study of Lenin among the workers and especially the youth now coming to political activity could result in a tendency to apply automatically Lenin's formulations of the problems of 1914-18 to the fundamentally changed problems of the present war."

"There has been some discussion," Browder says, and adds that "there has been an expression of a fear." Where? And why? Certainly not among us Trotskyists. We have no "fear" of Lenin. Everything we say, everything we do, is in conformity with Lenin, with Lenin's theory, his practice and his methods. It is that cynical, treacherous gang of Stalinists who fear Lenin. It is this traitor who was lifted by Stalin out of obscurity and placed at the head of his American agency who "fears" Lenin.

This swindler tries to reconcile class collaboration with the class struggle; support of imperialist war with the struggle against imperialist war; scabbery with strikes; counter-revolution with revolution. That is the whole theme of his article. He adds all this up and says: "See, there is a perfect balance."

Browder concludes the article with a eulogy. Of whom? Of Lenin? Not at all. Lenin he fears. He concludes that article with a eulogy of the Republican Senator Ball of Minnesota!

Of course, Browder's article would be incomplete without taking a stab at Trotskyism. That is easily understandable. Anyone who fears Lenin fears Trotsky. And conversely, anyone who fears Trotsky, fears Lenin. The two are inseparable. It is because of Stalin's fear of Leninism, that countless Trotskyists inside the Soviet Union have been tortured and murdered. And this is why the long arm of the GPU has reached out beyond the borders of the Soviet Union to put to death many of our valiant fighters. And this is why the long arm of the GPU reached even across the ocean into Mexico to assassinate Comrade Trotsky. It is Stalin and all his Browders who fear Leninism.

The Fate of the Social-Democracy

Treachery has played a big role in prolonging the life of the putrid capitalist system. It has played an immense role in prolonging the misery and agony of the peoples. In the last war and the revolutionary crisis following it, this Judas role was played by the Social Democracy. For a few pieces of silver, for parliamentary seats, for ministerial posts, they sold out the working class, and worked with might and main to save capitalism from the Bolsheviks. The Social Democrat leaders placed themselves in the front ranks of the struggle against Bolshevism. They are the ones who drowned in workers' blood the Spartacus uprising in Germany. And, I repeat, what the previous speaker, Comrade Frankel said: This is a lesson we must never forget.

But what happened to the Social Democrats? A new force appeared—fascism. The bourgeoisie threw its support to the fascists; not only the Italian and the German bourgeoisie did that. Mussolini and Hitler had the support of the Anglo-American imperialists. Churchill made some of his most eloquent speeches in behalf of Mussolini. And they did not confine themselves merely to speeches, comrade.

Fascism in Germany and Italy came to power under the banner of the struggle against Bolshevism, a banner that was held so high previously by the Social-Democrats. The Social-Democrats died traitors' deaths at the hands of the fascists. The fact that they preceded the fascists in the struggle against Bolshevism did not save their skins. The fact that they rendered yeoman service in the struggle against Bolshevism did not buy them immunity.

This is a lesson for Stalin and his cohorts to ponder over. They cannot cheat history much longer. What awaits them is a traitor's fate, either at the hands of the victorious revolution, or failing that, at the hands of triumphant reaction that knows no gratitude for services rendered. What awaits them is either the fate of the Russian Mensheviks or the fate of German Social-Democracy.

What we are witnessing today on the European continent is the resurgence of the struggle between the forces of oppression on the one side, and on the other side, the masses seeking to rid themselves of their misery, seeking to live their lives free of starvation, of exploitation and death inflicted on them by the imperialist war. What we have witnessed thus far in Italy, in France and Belgium are only the first skirmishes. Even in Greece the butcher Churchill is prematurely celebrating his victory over the workers of the Elas. The blows the Allied armies have inflicted on the European people, whom they said they came to liberate from the Nazis, can only have one effect. It can only deepen among the starving masses the hatred of the imperialist conquerors. The peoples of Europe, who must endure insults, indignities and privations, will have their day of reckoning.

Churchill—Fitting Symbol of the British Empire

Churchill, this septuagenarian watchdog of the British empire, is truly a fitting symbol of that empire. His whole personality is expressive of the Empire he heads: old, but vicious to the end. He has other qualifications too. He doesn't have to improvise anything. All Churchill has to do now is to repeat his speeches against the Bolsheviks whom he designated as bandits some 25 years earlier. He needs make only one slight change. In place of Bolshevism to substitute the word Trotskyism. It's the same thing, and he knows it.

Deception and force, slander and brutality are the traditional weapons of dying reaction in its struggle against revolutionaries. They were used against Lenin and Trotsky during and after the last war. They were used then by a combination of Social Democrats and their imperialist masters. And they are used today by a slightly different combination of Stalinists and their imperialist masters against Trotskyists.

But neither slander nor force could prevent the victory of Lenin's Bolshevik party in 1917. With the aid of the Stalinist traitors, dying capitalism has succeeded in staving off the day of its doom, but it cannot forestall that inevitable doom. Capitalism is doomed because it cannot give the people peace, it cannot give them bread, it cannot give them security, it cannot give them a decent living. Capitalism is doomed because the growing discontent of the people will crash through all the lies and measures of brute force. We have unshakable confidence in the fighting power of the working class. Our confidence has been confirmed in Italy, in Greece, in Belgium, in France, where the workers have emerged from years of suffering and illegality with a true fighting spirit. They will not rest satisfied. Nor will they be easily duped. In the very heat of struggle, they will find the only road, the road of Lenin.

Leninism Lives in the Fourth International

For Lenin showed us the way. He taught us how to build a party, a party that is firm, disciplined, a combat party. Trotsky once remarked that Lenin made his leap to greatness not merely in the revolution of 1917. He did that in 1903 when he broke with the Mensheviks, with all conciliators, and struck out on the course of building the Bolshevik party. That is when Lenin attained his greatness. And from then on he grew, as every leader in the movement must grow. The Russian revolution set the seal of history on his greatness.

Lenin armed us with a program. He taught us his method, his method that is embodied in the whole history of the Bolshevik party, in the history of the Russian revolution. He lighted the road to victory. And this is why Leninism lives. It lives in the Fourth International. Under Lenin's banner, armed with Lenin's program, with Lenin's method, with Lenin's iron will to victory, the Fourth International will complete Lenin's work.

Allies Censor News On Greece

By Joseph Hansen

"We Americans are not getting unbiased news from Greece," declares Wm. L. Shirer, correspondent of the N. Y. *Herald-Tribune*. "We are getting too much British and Greek government propaganda. And we are being made victims of a vicious censorship."

Of the 12 American correspondents in Greece, 11 have protested to the American government about the censorship. The British general Scobie, in charge of murdering Greek partisans, has forbidden all contact with his victims, even interviews supervised by his officers.

M. W. Fodor of the Chicago Sun points out that the British are widely propagandizing the fact that ELAS (Greek National Liberation Army) took hostages, but remains silent over the large numbers of hostages taken by the British and the Plastiras puppet government.

The lone correspondent who refused to join his fellow correspondents in protesting the censorship has not yet been named. It is in all likelihood A. C. Sedgwick of the N. Y. Times, whose dispatches have consistently followed Churchill's line of making out the partisans to be brutal, bloodthirsty brigands who wantonly torture innocent victims. This unnamed correspondent "of one of our greatest metropolitan newspapers," according to Fodor, recently sent a dispatch claiming that all factions except the Communists had broken away from the EAM (Greek National Liberation Front) and that these factions declared "our parties welcome with pleasure the presence of British troops."

Fodor says that the "agents" who gave this "information" "endeavored to convince the correspondents that the Greek Communists intend to hand over Macedonia to the Yugoslavs, a tale greeted with snorting skepticism by the newsmen as primitive and awkward propaganda."

ROYALIST DEMONSTRATIONS

On January 14 when the truce went into effect Sedgwick reported "This was a day of mass celebration and thanksgiving . . . about 100,000 persons shouted 'Long live Scobie,' 'Long live our great Allies,' 'Long live Churchill,' and 'Long live Roosevelt'." Sedgwick quoted from an "impromptu speech" made by General Scobie "on a balcony." The British commander said: "I am particularly happy to see the working class represented."

The Militant was not taken in by this crude propaganda. "Royalists collected in the streets January 14 . . ." we declared in the January 20 issue.

Fodor's dispatch confirms the Militant's characterization of the demonstration: "One cannot help feeling that the great 'demonstration' in Athens last Sunday may have misled many of us who did not read our newspapers too carefully. It was hailed by the Athens correspondent of the great metropolitan daily mentioned above as 'a day of mass celebration and thanksgiving,' and General Scobie, who made a speech from the balcony attacking the EAM, was quoted as saying he hoped the world would hear of the demonstration — as indeed the world did hear.

"Yet an Associated Press dispatch the day before had stated plainly that the Athens demonstration was organized under the leadership of General Napoleon Zervas. Now Zervas is a stauch monarchist, and, when his own small resistance army began to melt away recently, he was chased from central Greece by the ELAS."

Zervas, we may add, was the counter - revolutionary general armed and financed by the British who raised an army in support of the hated Glucksburg monarchy. When the British provoked the civil war, however, the ranks of this army went over to the ELAS by the thousands. The British were finally forced to rescue Zervas. They evacuated him and his immediate staff. For a few days he dropped out of sight.

Now we learn that he suddenly appeared in Athens at the head of a "spontaneous demonstration" of 100,000 workers who madly cheer their butchers.

One of the American correspondents in London makes the devastating understatement that "British supporters of the EAM in Greece suspect that a kind of propaganda plot is now in operation."

The exposure of Allied propaganda against the partisans reveals another link in the chain of counter-revolution in Greece. Churchill shoots down the revolutionary workers, he prevents even capitalist reporters from hearing their side of the story, he clamps down a tight censorship on reports of the Allied side, he blames his victims for the bloodshed, he fabricates lies about the Greek situation. These are spread by such authoritative mouthpieces of Big Business as the N. Y. Times. Then on top of all this Churchill declares that the British invaded Greece with the noble objectives of bringing food and democracy to that land.

Apparently the Allies are following Hitler's advice on propaganda that the bigger the lie the more easily people will believe it.

Economic Chaos Intensifies Woes Of Italian People

Italian economic and social conditions are steadily deteriorating. According to Matthews, Rome correspondent of the N.Y. *Times*, Jan. 21, "Somewhere between 60 and 70 percent of the industrial plants in the liberated zone have been destroyed, but even the existing plants are not working and their industrial output is close to zero. The economic life of the country temporarily has been set back to before the steam age."

Economic life has become "ghost-like." "There is an active, feverish exchange of quickly decaying goods at always rising prices with a steady exhaustion of all those stocks saved from German pillage or Allied requisitioning." Meat costs $2.50 a pound, shoes from $50 to $70, a suit of clothes from $150 to $300.

These prices remarks Matthews, "represent close to a sentence of death by hunger and cold to the ordinary person."

Transportation has broken down completely. Of her pre-war railroad stock, Italy now has only between 15 and 25 percent of all steam locomotives, 38 percent of freight cars and 14 percent of passenger coaches. Only 10 percent of Italy's pre-war stock of trucks still remain in operation, with spare parts costing between 500 and 1,000 times their pre-war prices. The merchant marine has been reduced from 3,250,000 tons to 460,000 and this is "composed mostly of wooden fishing boats in need of repairs."

The devastation in the war-torn areas is so complete it cannot easily be grasped. "Italy is going back to primitive, horse-drawn, home-made barter, based on an economic life which was sufficient to maintain the local population two centuries ago when the standard of living was very simple and Italians numbered 13 million not 45 million."

DESPERATE SITUATION

This means that if the capitalist system continues in Italy on its present basis, without considering the further inevitable decline, 32 million people are condemned to die.

The workers are particularly hard hit, but the petty bourgeoisie likewise is sinking into the abyss. The inflation of currency has now reached 1,150 percent. Malnutrition is general. Crime and prostitution are spreading on an unbelievable scale.

Conditions are no better in the agricultural areas. Millions of unexploded mines litter the fields and orchards, a constant deadly hazard to cultivation. Fertilizers have not been available for three years. Nearly all the Italian cattle have been requisitioned, butchered or stolen. Machinery is broken down, lacking spare parts and fuel. Farmhouses, stables and granaries have been destroyed everywhere. To maintain rations at the present miserable level of about 7 ounces of bread a day will require importation of 27,800,000 quintals of wheat.

"The Italian economic situation is desperate," concludes the Times correspondent, "and, what is worse, it is deteriorating steadily."

The only hope for Italy is the rapid organization and growth of the revolutionary political party of the workers, based on the program of Trotskyism, which will lead the masses to the formation of the Soviet power. Under capitalism Italy is clearly doomed. Only socialism offers a way out.

NEW YORK

Socialist Youth Forum

Friday, February 9, 8 P. M.

"WHAT IS SOCIALISM?"

Speaker: Arthur Simmons

Questions Discussion

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Servant of Big Business

Smug and confident, banker Jesse Jones testifies before the Senate Commerce Committee.

WHAT WALLACE-JONES DISPUTE REALLY MEANS

By Paul Abbott

The liberals and labor officials are shouting themselves hoarse at the Senate to make Wallace Secretary of Commerce with full power over the vast financial powers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. At a dinner given for Wallace in New York City January 29, Walter Reuther, for example, declared that Wallace is waging a fight for "the common people in opposition to Jesse Jones and reaction." Jones, long a Wall Street tool, attacked Wallace before the Senate Commerce Committee as "incompetent." By that he meant Wallace could not serve Big Business as well as he.

Thus the liberals express their gratitude to Roosevelt for requesting Jones to resign his 12-year post as Secretary of Commerce in order to make room for Wallace in the President's cabinet. The liberals needed this maneuver in order better to justify their support of Roosevelt in the last election. When Roosevelt hung his hat up in the White House for the fourth time, he immediately proceeded to fill all the important government posts with Wall Street's own men. They took over the State Department, putting Rockefeller, Clayton and Grew in key positions and making Stettinius of the House of Morgan, Secretary of State. The liberal press wept columns of ink over this victory of reaction and accusingly asked Roosevelt who had won the election.

Having given Wall Street direct control of key government positions, Roosevelt decided to make a conciliatory gesture to the depressed "New Deal" section of his supporters. Wallace's political racket is to pose as a leader of the small businessmen and farmers, in order to corral their votes for the Democratic Party. Many trade union officials have picked Wallace as their political mouthpiece. Wallace thus represents a minority faction in the Democratic Party. He became the logical man to receive the bone Roosevelt decided to toss to his whimpering "left" supporters.

WALLACE'S VIEWS

This champion of the liberals, however, represents the "common people" in a very peculiar manner. His avowed program is to avoid a post-war depression and provide 60 million jobs. He does not advocate ending the capitalist system which is the real cause of depressions and imperialist wars. On the contrary, he declares that the United States must have "new Kaisers, new Higginses, new Fords and new Edisons." He maintains that the cause of the depressions of 1921 and of 1929-33 was nothing but "economic illiteracy." He is completely vague on precisely how it would be possible for capitalism to produce 60 million jobs. His solution is to make himself — Wallace — Secretary of Commerce with full power over the vast resources of the RFC. However, he has declared himself willing to settle for the Secretaryship without the necessary financial powers if the Senate so sees fit.

To experts in political shadow boxing the match between "reaction" in the person of Jones and the "common people" in the person of the millionaire Wallace has a rigged look. In fact it bears a close resemblance to the set-up fights by which crooked promoters in sporting circles convert a stumble bum into a big-time prize-fighter.

Consider Wallace's record. During the depths of the depression when ten to twenty million were unemployed and starving while factories remained idle and crops rotted in the fields, how did Wallace help out the common people? He plowed under cotton and corn, paid out money to limit food production, and killed millions of little pigs.

When the Second World War broke out and Wall Street's main task was to dragoon the people into the slaughter, Wallace not only did not breathe one word in opposition, but proved extremely useful to Wall Street in herding the cannon fodder into the shambles. He ran for vice-president and once in office spent the most crucial years of the war wielding the gavel for one of the most reactionary senates in the history of the country.

Now this ex-killer of little pigs, ex-destroyer of crops and ex-wielder of the Senate's gavel has proclaimed himself the battling champion of small business. This is the traditional ballyhoo of the "radical" type of politician Wall Street pushes into the political ring when necessary. Wallace comes out of the same political gymnasium as Theodore Roosevelt who entered office as a trust buster and went out of office with the trusts larger, stronger and healthier than at any previous time.

WALL STREET BUILD-UP

Wall Street is doing its part to build up Wallace. As Wallace himself remarks: "My good friend, Senator Bailey, knows that senatorial rejection will enhance my personal prestige." The demagogic attack by Big Business against Wallace is designed to give Wallace the appearance of independence from Wall Street. Should the masses move toward the left, Wall Street counts on a man like Wallace attracting their support. Wallace himself is looking toward that possibility. "Strong candidates must be agreed on as long in advance of the 1946 campaign as it is possible to get agreement," he declared.

Once in office, however, Wallace, as he has already demonstrated, would carry out the program dictated to him and to all other underlings in the government by Big Business. Even if he were not a run of the mill political bruiser but a sincere knight in shining armor, he would still be tied hand and foot by the government bureaucracy which is intermeshed at every point with Big Business. He could not violate the laws and Roosevelt's decrees which determine the functions of the various bureaus. As the N. Y. *Times* of January 21 remarked in the "Merchant's Point of View," business is not afraid of the program advocated by Wallace. It simply would prefer a different person at present to carry it out.

Twin Cities Hold Banquet In Honor Of 12

By Barbara Bruce

MINNEAPOLIS, Jan. 28.—More than 200 Minneapolis and St. Paul workers, including many truck drivers who had participated in the historic drivers' strikes of 1934, attended the homecoming banquet held in the Labor Lyceum here tonight in honor of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Motor Transport Workers Union, Local 544-CIO, who were released from federal prison on January 24.

Vincent Dunne, Oscar Coover, Carl Skoglund, Jake Cooper, Emil Hansen, Max Geldman, and Carlos Hudson, who served 13 months at Sandstone Federal Correctional Institution, and Grace Carlson, who served the same sentence at the Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson, West Virginia, were the honored guests. Harry DeBoer and Clarence Hamel, who returned to Minneapolis from Sandstone last October, were seated with their comrades at the speakers' table.

Held under the auspices of the Twin Cities Branch of the Workers' Defense League, which has cooperated with the Civil Rights Defense Committee in the defense of the victims of the Smith "Gag" Act, the banquet was an inspiring demonstration of working class solidarity.

Miles B. Dunne, president of Local 544-CIO, opened the speaking program by welcoming the prisoners back on behalf of the workers of the Twin Cities. After greetings from Harry DeBoer and Clarence Hamel, Grace Carlson spoke.

GRACE CARLSON

"I used to think," she said, "that maybe I was a little bit abused because unlike the men in Sandstone I was alone and didn't have any comrades to talk to. Then I would look at the other prisoners, girls who had been turned into criminals by the terrible conditions of society—conditions created by this broken-down capitalist system. I would think, 'Well, here I am with all these hundreds of thousands of friends outside who are working for me, who are doing everything they can to see that my conditions are better and are furthering the cause that we all believe in so much.'

"And I would say to myself, 'I have an understanding of why I am here and they don't know why they have been put away—don't realize that it wasn't their own fault but the criminal conditions of society that sent them here.' We had so many young girls—15, 16 and 17 years of age—just children, living with a stigma upon them, thinking that they had done something criminal but of course they had not. The American capitalist leaders who perpetuate this system of poverty and injustice were the real criminals. These girls didn't understand that but I did."

Jake Cooper, Oscar Coover, Max Geldman and Emil Hansen briefly expressed their happiness at being home and their gratitude to all those who helped in their defense.

The next speaker, Carlos Hudson, remarked: "The thirteen months at Sandstone I consider to be a cheap price to pay for the privilege of working in the Socialist movement of emancipation. It was really the families of the comrades in prison who bore the brunt of the punishment. If any applause is due tonight, I speak for the rights of the wives and the children of the prisoners to receive that applause and would blush to receive any for myself."

Carl Skoglund said, "I am more confirmed than ever in my ideas that there is something wrong with society. I had one year to think that over. Look at all the suffering that humanity has to go through. This terrible bloody war! There is something wrong, isn't there? There should be some remedy. Do the people who rule today have any remedy? No, they do not.

"Someone has to solve this problem. Who is going to solve the problem or try to apply a remedy? Millions of young human beings are being sacrificed. For what? I want to say that I appreciate all you have done for us and hope that you are going to be part of our movement and give aid in the solution of this very pressing problem."

VINCENT DUNNE

"We were sent to prison for carrying forward the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky," said Vincent R. Dunne. "These ideas made the Russian Revolution and tipped over this rotten capitalist system for the first time in 1917. We suffered in prison only insofar as we were taken out of the fight as free men.

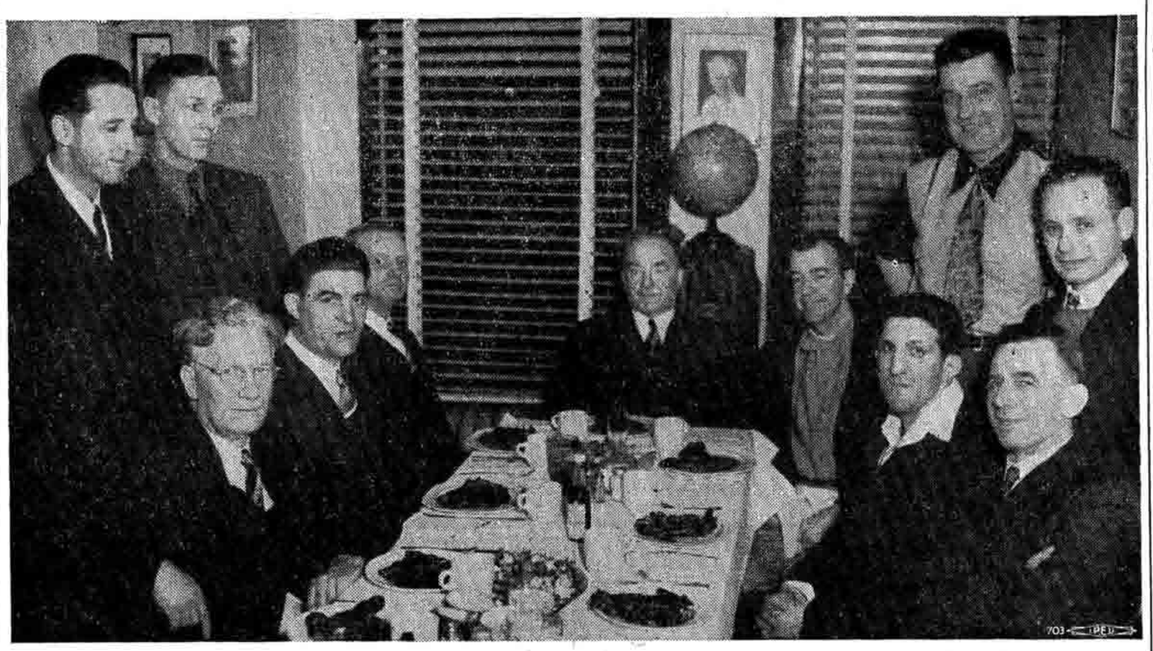
"New friends are thinking about these ideas for the first time. We are members of a revolutionary party. They are indeed unique men and women who support us and who are friendly to the ideas that we represent.

"My thanks to you for what you have done and for the honor you pay us. In reality you accord this honor to the great revolutionary ideas of socialism. The human race cannot find peace on this world until it finds the means of wresting the power from the capitalist class and takes the world and mankind on to a socialist day. To those ideas in a certain way you are according honor here tonight. I want to thank you and assure you that we will take our customary places now in the ranks of the struggle for the freedom of the workers."

Checks totaling $150 were presented to each of the released prisoners. Arthur Sternberg, chairman of the local Workers' Defense League branch, pointed out the need for continuing the fight against the Smith "Gag" Act and appealed for funds to carry on the work of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Responding generously to this appeal, those present contributed $353.97.

In conclusion, the popular working class song "Solidarity," was sung with deep feeling by the audience of working men and women who had come to pay their respects to these trade union and political leaders who had been railroaded to prison because of their devotion to the working class.

Back Home With Their Comrades



The released Minneapolis Case prisoners at the welcome-hom e luncheon in the Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party on January 24. Seated around the table: James P. Cannon, Emil Hansen, Oscar Coover, Carl Skoglund, Carlos Hudson, Jake Cooper, and Vincent Dunne. Standing at the left are Farrell Dobbs and Harry DeBoer, one of the defendants released in October; at the right, Clarence Hamel, also released in October, and Max Geld man. Felix Morrow and Albert Goldman, not in the picture, had already left for Chicago.

Homecoming Of Twelve Released Trotskyists Is Joyous Occasion

(Continued from page 1)

Max Geldman, Oscar Coover, Jake Cooper.

The spell was broken. With shouts of joy the crowd of welcomers engulfed the 11 men. Farrell Dobbs' youngest daughter jumped into his arms. On all sides happy faces, hearty greetings, comrades clasping comrades' hands, the excited faces of young children, the moist eyes of wives, kisses and embraces. The deepest emotions surged up and transformed the dreary station into a temporary abode of love and warmth.

Jim Cannon whispered to his wife, Rose: "I'm still doing time . . . prison is no joke. . ." He looked around. "No whistles three times a day—no count every two hours—no routine. . . you feel lost." Like all the men he was taut and tense.

EAT AT HEADQUARTERS

"Everybody up to the headquarters for lunch!" The word swept around. Within ten minutes the crowd had reassembled at the new Minneapolis headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. Now they were really home. More people arrived to greet them. The men began to loosen up a little in the happy atmosphere and sighed with pleasure.

In the shiny clean kitchen of the headquarters comrades had been busy all morning preparing the special lunch for the honored guests: hot dishes for the men followed by homemade cake and ice cream, stacks of sandwiches for the welcomers, big pots of good, hot coffee. The comrades who formed the kitchen crew issued orders like generals. Their faces beamed, they embraced the homecomers — but they carried out their work. "How do you like our new headquarters?" they asked proudly.

Between greetings, the men wandered through the rooms of their political home in Minneapolis. They viewed with approval the dignified meeting room with a bust of Leon Trotsky prominent; the comfortable library and lounge; the trim offices—everything efficient and spick and span. In the last room, which served a multitude of uses, a specially prepared table had been set up for the 11. Although Felix Morrow and Albert Goldman had departed to catch their connecting train, they were still 11 in number, for Clarence Hamel and Harry DeBoer were part of the honor roll table. Because these two had been out of jail now for a couple of months, they guided the newcomers like big brothers through the bewildering first hours and watched their needs at the luncheon table.

The sun shone through the windows and from the white tablecloth was reflected back in the faces of the men sitting around the table. Now in this light one could observe the effects upon them of 13 months of regimented prison life. Not all of the effects were visible. Behind the smiles and jests, their eyes revealed much more than strain. Behind the hollow cheeks were muscles gravely set in determination. Eleven men, Trotskyist leaders, who we felt more strongly than ever would go through to the end in their struggle for the workers of the world.

AFTER LUNCH

The warm luncheon helped the men to relax. "What a treat this is, to sit around, drink coffee and smoke a cigarette," sighed Vincent Dunne. They all missed their comrade who was on her way from Alderson. "When will Grace arrive?" They wanted the exact time, complete details. For prison departures, unlike others, are measured by moments which seem like years. "The Senator," as they called her, had done "hard time," they felt. Alone in a woman's prison, she had been deprived of the greatest comfort—the companionship of other comrades.

"That is where you learn about men—in prison," reflected Jim Cannon, puffing on his pipe over

GRACE CARLSON

his second cup of coffee. "They're men or monkeys. We comrades were welded together like a block of steel. Nobody can break us. We made friends, too. For no other reason than that we were a Communist group of men." One of the prisoners, he said, touched by their acts of kindness, had come up to him on the last day. "Mr. Cannon," he said, "I want to thank you very much. If everybody was like you and your friends, it wouldn't be so hard to do time."

"There wasn't a citizen on the streets to watch us go by, after we left the prison," said Vincent, "but all the inmates lined up behind the barred windows to wave goodbye to us." And Emil Hansen agreed: "Those boys will miss us." Like Clarence Hamel, Emil had lost a lot of weight, but it was good to see the "Big Twins" together again.

Max Goldman fumbled for a cigaret in his prison-made suit. All the men were dressed in cheap prison-made garb. "It's kind of hard to get used to pockets again," Max apologized laughing. There was something in the eyes of Max and Jake, his brother-in-law, that made one's throat tighten. Jake Cooper was the youngest of the prisoners. "Jake grew to manhood right under our eyes," said Jim Cannon quietly. "He showed himself to be a leader of men—a man you want beside you in hard action."

A full account of the February 2 New York City "Welcome Home" Mass Meeting in honor of the 12 Minneapolis Labor Case defendents just released from prison will appear in the next issue of The Militant.

James P. Cannon, Albert Goldman, Farrell Dobbs and Felix Morrow, four of the 12 dants just released from prison will be the principal speakers at this mass meeting sponsored by the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

Telegrams from their party comrades were coming in and being read to the men around the table. From New York to the west coast the central theme was the same: "Inspired by your example. . . 83% of the $18,000 fund has been raised with five weeks to go. . . Inspired by your example we are running a candidate for Mayor in Los Angeles . . . we all embrace you. . ."

INSPIRING EXAMPLE

About 1:30 the luncheon broke up and the crowd began thinning out. Some of the men were leaving for home with their families. Oscar Coover stood near the door, bidding farewell to the departing comrades and friends, welcoming a few latecomers. He was "back in the ranks." The Minneapolis headquarters was now complete with Oscar's quiet, knowing face blending into the scene, and it seemed as though he had never been away.

Carl Skoglund beamed as he confided to me: "The boys did a lot of studying in that place. . . philosophy, history, languages. . . they surely didn't waste any time." This grand old warrior of the working class, whose battle cry for over 30 years was **organize**, was very proud of "the boys' education."

HOW TO STUDY

Jim Cannon rummaged around the literature stand in the library. Several comrades brought him their copies of his book "The History of American Trotskyism" for autographs. "Let's see," he said with elaborate innocence, "what day is this? Oh, yes, January 24." And he wrote the date firmly in the books.

Before he sat down, Jim felt the chair. It didn't seem real to him because it wasn't the hard steel chair he had been accustomed to sit on for 13 months. Out came the pipe and matches again, and he mused out loud. "Prison isn't all bad. You have time. Time to study. I felt like a man who has always been broke and suddenly has a pocketful of money. I have never felt free from the urgencies, the complexities of party life to give all the time I wanted to for study."

He warmed up to the subject. "We learned in prison how to teach our younger comrades to study. Young people are appalled at the immensity of this task; they are overawed by the academic philosophers and teachers. We're going to sweep all that away. We're going to give them real teachers. We're going to change the lives of the youth; give them realizable goals and let them go to it. Youth needs help in its education. We're going to give it to them."

The chief architect of the American Trotskyist movement, who had built the foundation of that movement broad and deep and solid, was projecting great plans for its future. "All our writing must be pointed toward the workers. We must simplify our writing; learn to popularize our ideas in simple language. Our style must be lean, hard, muscular."

HOPE IN THE FUTURE

He dwelt for a moment upon man's need for hope and vision. "Men need to be inspired by projects of great things to come. . . People cannot live without hope in the future. We found that out in prison. Everyone has to believe in the 'good time coming; the great getting up in the morning.'"

By now January 24 was more than half over. Everyone was preparing to leave. The intimate homecoming was over. Eleven men were picking up the threads of their lives that had been severed 13 months ago. The 18 were all back, and ready to resume their places in the class struggle. We felt that, like us in Minneapolis today, the entire Trotskyist movement was being swept by a fresh wave of confidence and courage. With these leaders back, and our ranks strengthened, we could march more firmly forward to the Socialist future.

The Life And Work Of Lenin Commemorated In January FI

The January issue of **Fourth International** now on sale is a Lenin Memorial number. It features a biographical sketch of Lenin's life and work by Zinoviev, one of the leaders of the Bolshevik Party. This was a speech delivered by Zinoviev to the Petrograd Soviet on September 6, 1918, when news came of Lenin's recovery from a shot fired by a Menshevik terrorist. It provides a warm, intimate account of Lenin's 30-year struggle to build the Bolshevik party against all the opportunists who sought to water down the program of Marxism. "We get our approbation not in sweet murmurs of praise," Lenin used to repeat, "but in our enemy's wild shouts of rage."

History upheld the intransigence of Lenin who welded a firm party on his uncompromising program and in 1917 led the workers of Russia to the conquest of power. In "The Heritage of Lenin," the editors of Fourth International evaluate Lenin's teachings from this standpoint. "Above all else, above all his other contributions—and they are immense—Lenin looms as the supreme leader of action, who showed by example what kind of a party the working class needs to make a revolution, who showed in action how to build that kind of a revolutionary party, and how to win the masses to its banner."

"Leninism in Practice," by George Collins, is a review of James P. Cannon's new book, **The History of American Trotskyism.** In the growth of the Socialist Workers Party from a handful of Left Oppositionists expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 to the party which today grows in influence under the banner of Bolshevism, Collins demonstrates the consistent application of Leninist principles to the American scene.

The January issue includes the important resolution unanimously adopted by the Nov. 1944 National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party on "The United States and the Second World War." This resolution analyzes the political and social developments in the United States since Pearl Harbor and presents the Trotskyist program of action to solve the urgent problems of American labor.

The issue also carries a discussion article by Daniel Logan criticizing the draft resolution of the SWP National Committee on "The European Resolution and Tasks of the Revolutionary Party."

Single copies of Fourth International can be obtained for 20 cents, yearly subscription $2, by writing to Business Manager, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

READ
'THE FOURTH
INTERNATIONAL'

NEW YORK
Sunday Night Forum
"THE REAL MEANING OF THE WALLACE-JONES DISPUTE"
Why Roosevelt Kicked Out Jones
Can Wallace Give Labor 60 Million Jobs?
Speaker:
George Collins, contributor to THE MILITANT
Sunday, February 4, at 8 P. M.
Questions Refreshments
NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
116 University Place
(cor. 13th Street, between 5th and Broadway)

By V. Grey

"Why you have socialism right now, and what good does it do?" said Scissorbill Sam (the bosses' man).

Everybody looked surprised.

"Look at this here War Production Board and War Manpower Commission. The WPB tells the corporations how much to produce. The OPA tells 'em how much to charge for it. And the War Manpower Commission tells everybody where to work."

"So what?"

"So what? That's regulation, ain't it? That's planned production, ain't it? It's Socialism, that's what!"

"You know, Scissorbill," said Slim, weighing his words, "Sometimes I think you missed your calling."

"Yeah?," muttered Sam distrustfully.

"You should be writing editorials for the big newspapers."

"Well, I don't write them," Scissorbill replied with a pleased and hopeful note in his voice, "but I read them carefully every day."

"Same difference," said Slim.

While Scissorbill was chewing on that, Shorty asked, "How about that, Slim? I know we want to throw the War Manpower Commission out because they're part of the labor freezing outfit. But other boards help keep prices down and plan production. Wouldn't we keep them in if we had a labor government?"

"We might have a word like 'Production,' or even 'Price Administration' at the beginning. But that's all that might be the same—just the name. Everything else would be different. The main difference would be that our boards will work.

"You don't think this capitalist board works, do you? Look at the way they had all those lay-offs in aircraft and small-arms factories a little while ago."

"Sure. And now they want a labor draft."

"And look how they take some of the people back to work. At less wages than ever."

"Yes. But that isn't all," said Slim. "Naturally these companies are all trying to chisel on our wages and cut us down to the bone. But that's just one reason why you see crowds of working people going out of one factory—working in another one for three or four weeks—or wandering around the streets—then back in the first one—then out on their ear again. Don't forget, the War Production Board itself is telling the companies to do this."

"You mean the companies do it against their will?"

"Not by a long shot, Breezy. The War Production Board is made up of a lot of agents of different big companies. My point is that they can't plan production. Their own system prevents them."

"Just a minute," said Scissorbill, disapprovingly, "You're trying to give the impression the WPB is run by Big Business."

"Oh, no," said Slim sarcastically. "I wouldn't want to give you the wrong idea. Maybe us working stiffs are running it. But anyway it comes out like this: a few months ago WPB gives Big Business, and only Big Business, the green light to change over to peace-time production."

"Yeah, that's what started the big lay-offs, too."

"And smaller outfits couldn't get any materials for peace-time work for another year."

"Some of them can't even get materials for war work right now. Why I know a guy——"

"The people thrown out of work," continued Slim, "just signed up for unemployment insurance because the WPB couldn't put 'em back to work. Then the war got under way all over again, and most people got back to work."

"With a few pay-cuts, of course."

"Of course. And it just goes to show that the only thing that's making this screwy system work nowadays is war. And they can't even plan production right for their own war. What the hell are they going to do in peace-time?

"The War Production Board," Slim went on "is a planning board, all right. What does it plan?—It plans how Big Business can make the most money possible and give the working people the business. It plans how to choke off smaller companies and drive them to the wall in the changeover."

"Now Scissorbill Sam says that is a socialistic set-up. Well that's the way the big manufacturers feel too. They don't even want to hear a little squawk out of the War Production Board, or any other board, if they decide to make a few extra bucks on ships that break in two in cold water.

"They agree to have the board—like you agree to let a dentist pull your tooth—because you have to. But they kick like hell about the few restrictions they have to accept once in a while. And they call that Socialistic. They're only raking in twice the shekels they did in the last war—but they figure it's a big enough war to rate four times as much profit."

"You know—" said Shorty, "if we were running things ourselves I should think it would be pretty simple to make a production board work. The fellows in each plant would want the other plant to produce a lot. And what damn fool would want to make things so fast that they broke in two? Why our production board could make things go right without half trying."

"If I was running a real socialistic shebang," boasted Breezy suddenly, "and they tried to make stuff that killed our own boys, I'd cut their hearts out."

"That's the right idea," said Shorty.

"Yeah," Slim said, "except that Breezy wouldn't be running it. We all would. And nobody'd get a chance to pull stuff like that even if they wanted to. Anyway, we'll do a lot worse than cut their hearts out. We'll make 'em go to work."

10 Years Ago In The Militant

FEBRUARY 2, 1935

FARGO—"Three hundred deputized vigilantes swept down on the headquarters of General Drivers Local 173 on Sunday, tear-gassed strikers, their wives and children, and arrested 94 (workers). . . charged with rioting and inciting to riot," reported **The Militant.**

This was the supreme effort of the Fargo bosses to break a three-week strike of the militant truckdrivers. Using the flying-picket-squad technique developed in the great Minneapolis strikes of 1934, the Fargo drivers had kept the town "sewed up tight" since the middle of January. A warrant was issued for the arrest of Miles Dunne, leader of Minneapolis truckdrivers Local 574, loaned to the Fargo workers by their Minneapolis brothers.

"Every trade unionist in the Northwest should realize that the Fargo strikers are waging a fight for the labor movement of the whole Northwest, and should give every possible support to Local 173," **The Militant** concluded.

NEW YORK—In a dramatic one-day strike, New York truckdrivers on January 28 prevented Justice B. J. Humphreys from issuing a far-reaching injunction. The injunction, demanded by the Bklyn. Chamber of Commerce, would have forbidden longshoremen to refuse to handle goods delivered by scab drivers, thus inviting trucking bosses to fire thousands of union drivers delivering to the waterfront.

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Charles Jackson

Another Brownskin Bites the Dust

The familiar story of a militant fighter who has forsaken principle to obtain personal advancement, even at the cost of selling his colored brothers down the river, is seen again in the recent political twists and turns of Dr. Channing H. Tobias, senior secretary (for the colored branches) for the National Council of the Young Men's Christian (?) Association.

He was formerly known as one of the most outspoken fighters for racial equality in the country. By the written and spoken word he brutally lashed into the reactionary policies of anything or anybody who practiced or preached racial discrimination or segregation. He dodged no opponent and he barred no holds. As a result of his progressive stand he had no small following among Negroes and liberal whites.

Now, in a gesture that is all the more nauseating both because of its nature and its timing, he wraps the red handkerchief around his head, picks up a crooked stick for a cane, and ambles over to the side of the "massuh." There he proceeds to publicly proclaim how "kind and considerate" are the policies of this slavedriving Simon Legree. Thus another erstwhile militant Negro leader bows out of the struggle for the truth to enter the fold of the despicable twentieth-century Uncle Toms.

Tobias first showed signs of compromising when he helped corral the Negro voters once again into the camp of the Democratic Party. He led them to believe that the election of Roosevelt would mean a definite lifting of the oppressing conditions imposed on the black and brown Americans in the armed forces, in civilian life and in industry. As a matter of fact, neither of the major candidates would have been allowed to grant the Negro equal rights because that would hurt the very big business interests who back both of these leading political parties.

WHITEWASH JIM CROW

But to go on with our story. The erudite Dr. Tobias now occupies the honored post of being the only Negro member on the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation.

Now every thinking Negro soldier and sailor resents being shoved off into a separate unit by the government because of skin color. Not only the official Jim Crow policy but also the fact that he is given the dirtiest and most dangerous work is a bitter pill for the Negro toswallow. What is more, the mailed fist policy is invariably carried out by the officer caste when the slightest complaint is voiced. Witness the speedy conviction and stringent sentences slapped on the 50 Negro sailors accused of "mutiny" on the West Coast when they petitioned for change of duty after seeing 300 of their buddies blown to bits while loading Naval ammunition.

Coming on the heels of the mass Negro resentment at the frame-up of the fifty is an open letter from our Dr. Channing Tobias to the honorable James Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy. "On a recent visit to the Bremerton, Wash. Naval Ammunition Depot," stated Dr. Tobias, "... I found about 500 young colored men engaged in the work of that important post." (This work consists of loading live artillery shells for the Naval big guns similar to the work that recently resulted in the extermination of the Negro sailors in the Port Chicago explosion).

"They seemed to be alert, intelligent and happy in their work," continued this former fighter for Negro equality. "Alert?" You'd be too if you valued your life. "Intelligent?" Why not? Hasn't science proved that gray matter in the brain has no relation to color pigment in the skin? "Happy?" Who but an imbecile would be happy in this segregated labor battalion where merit and ability cut no figure? This last Uncle Tom statement is not only a brazen whitewash of the reactionary policy of the Navy but it is also an open insult to the integrity of those 500 sailors at the Bremerton Ammunition Depot.

CAPITALIST AGENTS

In characteristic hat-in-hand fashion, this turncoat "attributed this. . . to the thoughtful and liberal administration." Not one word of protest against the Navy's well-known Jim Crow policy did this letter contain.

Such statements as these are calculated, of course, to cast doubts in the thoughtful Negro's mind as to whether he has a legitimate beef when he calls for the abolition of government-sponsored segregation and discrimination. Bishop Gregg was used in a similar manner when he was given a tour of the fronts by the War Department and returned to imply that the boys were contented with their present lot of Jim Crow in the Army.

Thus the capitalists through their agents, the Army and Navy brass hats, are relentlessly at work, changing progressive and apparently principled leaders into bare-faced bootlickers, in an effort to preserve their corrupt and exploitive system. Lasting respect and continued admiration our spokesmen can only enjoy by sacrificially refusing the foul offers of the small, but clever ruling class—the only beneficiary of Jim Crow—and aligning themselves with the larger, and potentially more powerful, working class to whom the future belongs.

Attention Buffalo Readers

Charles Jackson will speak on "The Struggle for Negro Equality" Sunday afternoon, Feb. 11, 3:30 P. M., at 479 Williams St., Buffalo.

Roosevelt Speeds Forced Labor Offensive; Tries To Rush Passage Of May-Bailey Bill

(Continued from page 1)

jobs in closed-shop plants. Another was intended to make all strikes illegal. Differences arose among the Congressmen as to the most effective means for enforcing the labor draft scheme. Some wanted "work-or-fight" penalties. Some wanted to establish "slacker work battalions" under Army rule. Others preferred "civilian" penalties — $10,000 fines and 5 years imprisonment.

Fearful that all these amendments were stalling the bill and exposing its real slave labor character, Roosevelt's aides rushed to Congress and insisted that it hold back all the trimmings until the basic measure is passed. Under this pressure, the House Military Affairs Committee eliminated the anti-strike, anti-closed shop, "work-or-fight" and "slacker battalions" amendments. The committeemen were aware that the bill as it stands, which enables the administration to move workers in and out of jobs at will under threat of huge fines and imprisonment, is sufficiently broad and drastic to satisfy even the most hard-bitten, fascist-minded employers.

The administration wants speed, in addition, because the change in the military picture, due especially to the Red Army offensive toward Berlin, has reduced the popular fear of a prolonged war. Talk of an immediate Allied offensive — with assurances that there are now sufficient munitions for it — has reduced the effect of the munitions "shortage" scare.

FAKE SHORTAGE

Most of all, the real facts about the "need" for forced labor due to manpower shortages are coming to light. The Mead Senate War Investigating Committee, for instance, has disclosed "labor hoarding" and huge waste of manpower at the Norfolk Naval Yard, where the officials had been clamoring for "4,000 more workers."

The War Production Board report for December showed that despite the holiday letdown substantial increases in all the major munitions programs were registered. During the last half of 1944, the WPB report admitted, "every one of the critical programs showed a substantial gain" ranging from 20 to over 200 per cent.

ROOSEVELT'S MOVES

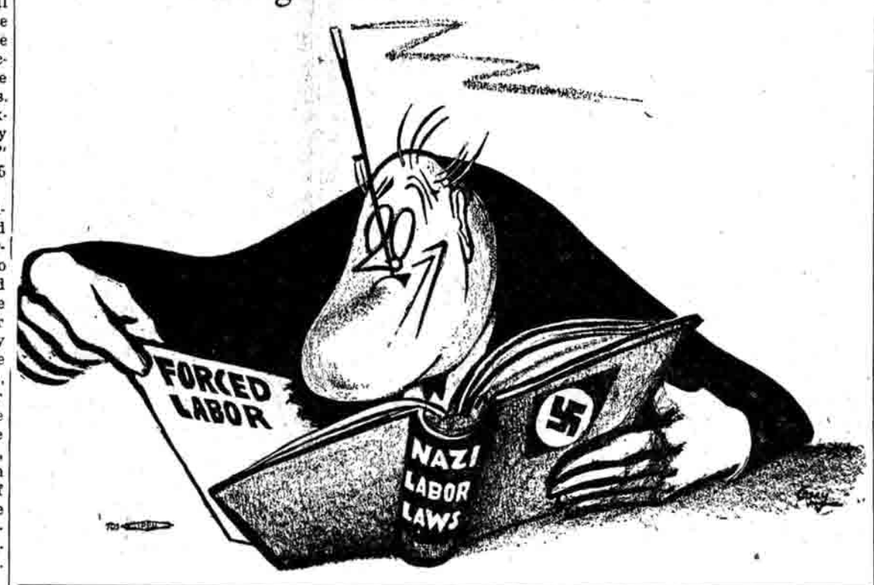
And then came the startling disclosure by John L. Lovett, Michigan Manufacturers' Association general manager, that in the allegedly key "tight spot," Detroit, the factories are in position to handle 20 per cent more war contracts and that 50,000 experienced workers are right now forced to live off unemployment compensation.

CIO United Automobile Workers President R. J. Thomas put his finger on the biggest flaw in the claim of manpower "shortage." He last week challenged the government estimate of 700,000 unemployed, declaring there were no less than 5,000,000 workers seeking jobs. "The bureau (Labor Statistics) must be thinking of 700,000 white men," Thomas declared. "My estimate includes what they overlooked — the women and Negroes able and wanting to work in war plants and other essential industries." But the House Military Affairs Committee struck out from the May-Bailey bill a clause prohibiting discrimination against workers for racial, religious or similar reasons.

Without even waiting for legislation, the administration has already begun to initiate its forced labor scheme. Allentown, Pa., has been selected as the first test spot. There last week, under orders of the War Manpower Commission, a group of brewery workers were fired from their jobs and forced to take work in designated plants at lower pay and longer hours.

If the administration succeeds in achieving its aims in this instance, it plans to spread the same scheme everywhere. By hook or by crook, Roosevelt intends to impose industrial regimentation upon the American working class. This Nazi-like scheme can still be smashed, however, if the entire labor movement goes into united fighting action against it.

Taking a Leaf Out of Hitler's Book



Auto Militants Broadcast Call To Rescind No-Strike Pledge

(Continued from page 1)

employers fear only a threat to their profits, which cease when the workers withhold their labor power. "In the last analysis, manufacturers understand only one language — the language of the pocket book, the language of profits."

The Local 212 President charged the corporations with unleashing a campaign of provocations against auto workers, but "the Union is helpless to stop this war of nerves because it is paralyzed by the no-strike pledge. The union now is like a powerful giant with his hands securely shackled behind his back. And because he is defenseless, others treat him with contempt instead of with the respect his strength should inspire . . . Take off his bonds and his adversaries would soon change their tactics and keep a respectful distance."

John Murphy described the function of Roosevelt's War Labor Board as an agency for stalling the worker's demands and grievances. "Experience has convinced us that the WLB is a sorry substitute for the right to strike."

WLB RUNAROUND

"A mountain of evidence can be submitted," Murphy asserted, "to prove that the WLB exists not to expedite grievance settlements, but to delay, to stall and to hinder collective bargaining. And this is not all. The WLB's recent act of refusing to even bend the Little Steel Formula shows that it also functions to hold wages down at a time when corporation profits are zooming."

Answering the "unfair and dishonest cry from big business executives and editorial writers" about the "boys in the foxholes," Ruth Bailey asserted: "Many of those boys helped to form the UAW-CIO back in the organizing days. They walked the picket lines and served on committees and endured the hardships without which the union could never have been built. We don't want them to come back to low pay, long hours and the vicious speed-up once so notorious in mass production industry. We don't want them to return to company unions."

Gordon MacDonald charged that the promises of the UAW leaders about "equality of sacrifice" turned out to be "as insubstantial as a dream—or as insubstantial as the Atlantic Charter." He exposed the fraud of the promises about controlling prices, limiting executives' salaries, "taking the profits out of war."

"One has only to read the last issue of the *United Automobile Worker* to learn how empty that promise was. The front page headline of the paper informs us that WARTIME PROFITS TRIPLED INDUSTRY'S PEACE-TIME TAKE. The aircraft industry, in which our members work, showed dividends 33 times bigger than in peacetime." He asked: "Were our leaders actually so innocent and so green as to believe all those fine things written in the equality of sacrifice program? Or did they merely sugarcoat a bitter pill in the hope that the men and women in the shops would swallow it (no-strike pledge) without too much fuss?" He concluded: "Revoke the No-Strike Pledge and put a stop to industry's offensive against Labor!"

Leo Ellery described in detail the innumerable corporation provocations and the piling up of grievances since the surrender of the strike weapon. "From the time our leaders gave up the right to strike it has become increasingly difficult to get grievances settled. Important grievances are shunted from stage to stage until they reach management's front office. There management all too frequently says: 'Take it to the War Labor Board!' This is almost equivalent to saying: 'Take it to the Cemetery!'"

STALINIST TACTICS

The UAW top bureaucrats, whose main support comes from the strikebreaking Stalinists, are attempting to counter the offensive of the militants with every dirty trick and flag-waving jingo appeal they can devise. A typical example of their methods was demonstrated this afternoon at the regular monthly membership mass meeting of the Press Steel unit of Ford Local 600, attended by approximately 800 persons.

The Stalinist-dominated leadership took advantage of the meeting, called to honor the parents of a union brother shot down in the South Pacific who survived a 30-day ordeal on a life raft, to try to shove through a resolution supporting the no-strike pledge.

W. G. Grant, Local 600 President and notorious Stalinist frontman, gave a frenzied speech, terming the hundreds of thousands of UAW militants opposed to the no-strike pledge as "enemies of labor." Following this hysterical tirade, the no-strike resolution was introduced.

A rank and file worker demanded the floor to secure the same courtesy of the chair as Grant to oppose the no-strike pledge. The meeting chairman tried to stall him off, but was hooted by the workers. The worker who took the floor then gave a well-prepared, sharply-pointed talk, which frequently brought cheers from the audience. He was interrupted half-way through by the chairman, a Stalinist vice-president, who ruled his time-limit at an end. This almost created a riot. But, in order to permit the meeting to proceed, the speaker yielded the floor.

A leading Stalinist in the unit was then given the floor. His rantings were accorded a chilly reception. This time the audience halted the speaker when he began to exceed his time. But the Stalinists hauled out a whole stable of speakers, whose reactionary ravings caused the disgusted workers to leave the meeting in droves. It was only when the Stalinists had reduced the meeting to a skeleton that they succeeded by a narrow margin in putting over their no-strike resolution.

An evidence of the real sentiments of the workers at this meeting was their warm reception and favorable comments on *The Militant*, which was distributed for the first time at the Press Steel meeting. A large number of Pioneer Publisher's new pamphlet, "American Workers Need A Labor Party," written by Joseph Hansen, were also sold.

In Detroit, Mich.
You can get THE MILITANT at the FAMILY THEATRE NEWSSTAND opposite the theatre

UAW Heads Urge Withdrawal From War Labor Board

(Continued from page 1)

WLB. For three years, they have been selling the WLB to the auto workers as a substitute for the strike weapon. They assured the workers that the "impartial" WLB would take care of labor's just demands. They served on the board, lent their names to it, gave it a "labor" cover, bolstered it up for three years.

It was the Trotskyists in the unions who from the very beginning conducted a tireless campaign exposing the real nature and purpose of the WLB as a government instrument of the employers. The Trotskyists have consistently called for the withdrawal of all union representatives and support from this anti-labor government body. For this, the Trotskyist workers were slandered as "obstructors" and even "Hitler agents" by those very UAW leaders who today call for the scrapping of the WLB.

However, the UAW executive board's resolution on the WLB by no means indicates that these leaders really mean business. They are making only another gesture to appease the auto workers' wrath. If the UAW chiefs were serious about withdrawing labor support from the WLB, they wouldn't stop with mere appeals to Philip Murray and the CIO. UAW President R. J. Thomas himself would take the first step and demonstratively resign from the WLB. All UAW officials on WLB regional bodies would be immediately instructed to leave them flat.

STAY ON WLB

Why don't the UAW leaders get off the corporation-dominated WLB? Because the WLB — or some similar phony set-up with a different title—is the only program these labor fakers have to offer the auto workers in return for giving up their only effective union weapon, the right to strike. The top UAW bureaucrats are united in appealing to the auto workers to reaffirm the no-strike pledge in the union's current referendum. They have repeatedly aided the corporations and government to break "unauthorized" strikes provoked by the bosses. But if the WLB is an anti-labor fraud, what then do these "leaders" offer in place of the right to strike?

Another government compulsory arbitration board! A freshly-painted 1945 model, with a different name, in which the bosses and government can induce the auto workers to take another ride. That's what the executive board means by its complaint that the WLB now has "neither the authority nor the standing it had when it was created." The WLB is so discredited that some other agency is needed to hoax the workers. And that's precisely what the UAW board resolution proposes.

At the same time, by whining about the WLB and calling for the CIO to withdraw its support, the UAW leaders are trying to refurbish themselves as "militants" in the eyes of the auto workers. However, their very admissions about the WLB expose the bankruptcy of their whole past policy of servile compliance with the Roosevelt labor program. The auto workers can place not an iota of trust in these bureaucrats!

Only a completely new, progressive leadership, controlled by the rank and file, which will really fight for a genuine labor program, can give effective, militant guidance to the auto workers. The auto workers need a leadership which stands four-square on a fighting program.

The indispensable accompaniment to the withdrawal of labor support from the WLB is to scrap the no-strike pledge. That is the decisive issue before the auto workers—and all workers—today. That is the only way labor can disentangle itself from the red-tape of government compulsory arbitration, halt the corporation provocations, and take up in earnest the challenge of the open-shoppers.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

I had been waiting for Tom to speak to me. All during the shift I could see him eyeing me a little quizzically, as though there was something on his mind. Finally after cast he came up to me and said, "I been wondering about something. How come you get along so good with the colored fellows? Jimmy told me it's all the same to you what color a man is. But how come you feel that way when all the rest of the white folks are all filled up with hatred?"

"Well, in the first place, Tom," I said, "you're wrong when you say 'all the rest of the white folks.' It probably looks like that to you, because you don't know a lot of white men personally. But a good union man will always look at people according to what KIND of people they are, not what COLOR."

"Any decent person is bound to hate a system that discriminates against a man, denies him opportunities, and generally tries to make his life hell just because he belongs to some certain race or nationality. He'll hate a doctrine like that whether it comes from Nazi Germany or from Bilbo in your state, Mississippi."

"It's not my state," Tom grinned. "I was born there, but it's not my state."

"Go on," I told him, "With all the doubles you've been working, you probably own half the state of Mississippi.

"But to get back to the point, Tom, it isn't even a question of decency. A man could have all kinds of personal prejudice against a race, but if you showed him that race hatred was against his own personal interest, he'd lose that hatred."

Tom's face was cynical. "That's what I was going to say. Maybe you know that, but how many other white fellows know it? No, you'll never get all the people together. There's too much hatred. Maybe you don't know it, but once we thought they were going to make a blower (blast furnace boss) out of Dave Sykes, and a bunch of the white stove tenders got together and told the company they wouldn't work under a colored blower. That's they way most white fellows are, and you can't get away from it."

I had heard this argument before from colored men I had worked and talked with. "But, Tom," I said, "people lose their prejudices in a hurry when they have to. Look at the big strike. Pete Rossi had a hell of a lot of prejudice, but he got his arm broken when a cop tried to club one of the colored fellows. He put his arm up and caught the club. All of us marched on the picket line and fought the scabs together, colored and white. We had real solidarity. See, people learn fast when they have to.

"Look," I went on, "we all knew that the company wanted to break us up. If the colored fellows had gone to work, the white men never could have won the strike. Or if the white fellows had been scabs, how far do you think the colored workers would have got? Everybody knew that. Remember, Terry O'Day got up and said it was like two men and a bear. Between the two of them, they could kill the bear, but if they fought against each other, the bear would eat one of them and then the other.

How Hatred Is Implanted—and Uprooted

"That's how it is. The company treats the white fellows just a little better than the colored, but they don't like us any better. They just want us to think we're better than our colored brothers. And if they think they can use the colored workers against the whites, they'll start giving them breaks. Only, any wedge that the company can drive between us will hurt BOTH of us, not just one."

Tom was still cynical. "Sure, they were all together in the strike, but look what happened after the strike. They got all that hatred back again."

"Tom," I said, "they'll be together again. But there's another thing. After the strike, the workingmen didn't control the government and the industries. The kids still picked up their prejudices in school. We went home, and Amos and Andy or maybe Rochester were on the radio. Stepin Fetchit was in the movies. There were jokes and cartoons about Negroes cutting each other with razors, and all that. Negroes were portrayed as lazy clowns and petty chiselers. Naturally a lot of white workers drifted back to the old ways, BUT NOT ALL. Pete Rossi and Teddy Wieznowsky, for instance—they both learned for keeps."

"What about the government? What was that you said about the workingmen?" Tom was suddenly very interested.

"Well," I answered, "we haven't got enough time to go into all that now, but under a worker's government we'd do away with all that racial prejudice. We'd have to have unity. We wouldn't want the people split apart like the capitalists do. We'd want everybody working together for the benefit of all the people. The movies and the radio and all kinds of advertising as well as the schools would prove and keep proving that race hatred hurts us all. Our laws would really forbid segregation and discrimination until ALL the white people learned this. Why we'd grow up together and live close at hand—no more Jim Crow housing projects.

"And most important, we wouldn't have to worry about having enough jobs for everyone. Worry over unemployment, wanting a job for yourself in tough times and fearing that somebody else might get it is another thing that keeps people apart. Any racial or national difference is noticed. A man might think, 'I've got no job, and I can't pay my rent, but that colored guy keeps working'!"

But just as I was getting warmed up, a blow-pipe burned up, and we had to run out and grab the water hoses.

Pioneer Paragraphs

HOW MARXISTS APPROACH ALL ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS

During all this time the attention of the advanced workers, the unaffiliated but more or less radical and class-conscious workers, was concentrated on the Socialist Party because it was a bigger party. They said: "Let us wait and see whether it is going to be the Socialist Party or the Workers Party which will really be the heir to the radical movement of the United States. Let us see if the Socialist Party will really turn to the left. In that case we can join a revolutionary party that is bigger than the Workers Party." Under such conditions it was extremely difficult to recruit into the Workers Party.

There was continual friction inside the Workers Party over the Socialist Party question despite the fact that at that time there were no proposals of one faction as against the other. All of us presumably were going along building up the WP, conducting our independent agitation, and so on. We said we had no proposal about joining the Socialist Party. They could not have opposed such a proposal from a principled standpoint, since they had endorsed the "French turn." Nevertheless, there was a difference in the way the problem was viewed by the two factions. They looked upon the ferment in the Socialist Party as a bothersome question, something to be avoided. Every time something of interest drew new attention to the factional fight within the SP, they would resent it because it distracted attention from our own organization. They regarded the Socialist Party as only a rival organization, and didn't see the conflicting currents and tendencies, some of whom would be destined to march together with us. It was an organization approach...

We approached the problem from another standpoint, not so much from the organizational side as from the political side. We saw in the ferment in the Socialist Party not a troublesome diversion from the work of building up our own party. We saw it rather as an opportunity to be seized upon for the development of our movement regardless of what organizational form it might eventually take. Our inclination was to turn toward it, to try to influence it in some way.

As I said, the practical proposals at the moment were not very different between the two factions, but the difference in attitude toward the problem of the Socialist Party was fundamental, and bound sooner or later to bring us to a clash. The organizational question is important, but the political line is decisive. No one can succeed in creating a revolutionary organization who does not understand that politics is superior to organizational questions. Organization questions are important only insofar as they serve a political line, a political aim. Independently they have no merit whatsoever.

(From "History of American Trotskyism," by James P. Cannon, pp. 218-19. Pioneer Publishers, 1944, 268 pp., cloth $2.75, paper $2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.).

BOSTON
Friday Forums
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"12 YEARS OF THE NEW DEAL"
Workers Center
158 Broadway - 8:15 P. M.
Auspices: SWP
Admission Free

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

Lessons Of Greece

Churchill has succeeded in imposing an "armistice" on the insurgent Greek masses. This does not signify the termination of the Greek civil war. Nor does it detract an iota from the colossal significance of the Greek events and of the paramount issues involved in it. The essential character of the Greek struggle, which is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle now unfolding on the European continent, has not altered in its essence. This struggle, whose ultimate objective is the socialist society, continues in Greece under new conditions.

With the Greek regency and the "armistice" as a cover, and with the consent of Roosevelt and Stalin (given at Teheran!), the British imperialists and its catspaws aim to carry through the policy they pursued in provoking the recent battles. So far as they are concerned, all that is involved is a modification of tactics. Unable to disarm and crush the Greek masses at a single stroke, as originally intended, they now propose to do this in stages. They aim to drain the forces of the Greek revolution through a series of bloody provocations, the next of which may not be long in forthcoming.

Britain's imperialist boot is now firmly planted in Athens. While the full "armistice" terms remain secret, it is reported that the Elas forces have been committed by their leadership to withdraw from Saloníka, and to "disperse" their forces in the hinterlands, where it will be all the easier to cut them to pieces as well as to shroud in secrecy the work of the Allied imperialist butchers.

The main responsibility for the partial defeat, or more correctly *sellout*, suffered by the Greek masses, and for the threat of further disasters, falls on the shoulders of the so-called "national liberation" front—the EAM—and its chief sponsors, the Stalinists. The Kremlin is the mortal enemy of the toilers in Greece as throughout the world. To Stalin the struggle for emancipation of the masses is only so much small change in his diplomatic deals with London and Washington. And this means that at every critical stage of the struggle, the Stalinists work hand in hand with the imperialist masters to help dupe, disarm and enslave the masses. This has once again been demonstrated in the Greek events.

The civil war in Greece is also a striking illustration of how the mass movement can sweep over the heads of the Stalinists, the Socialists and all other misleaders in the elemental surge of the masses to determine their own destinies. The heroic resistance of the toilers who rushed to the defense of the Elas and who fought under its banner caught not only Churchill but the Kremlin by surprise. But courage and the will and the readiness to fight are not enough. A clear-cut revolutionary program is indispensable. This in turn means that for victory the workers need a political party with a firm leadership, dedicated to realize this program in life. To win their struggle the Greek masses must now build such a party in the heat of struggle.

The Trotskyists have constituted an important section of the Greek working class movement and have a rich tradition of struggle. Despite the censorship and the scant information, we are confident that our co-thinkers in Greece, like the Trotskyists throughout Europe, are now bending all their efforts to create such a combat party of proletarian emancipation in their country.

The Price Of Murder

Another chapter in the Little Steel strike of 1937 was written in the last week of December when the Republic Corporation settled 192 damage suits for deaths and injuries to CIO strikers. The settlement, made out of court, constituted a clear admission of guilt on the part of Republic Steel.

The Steel corporation decided to take this action after the Ohio Supreme Court upheld a $20,000 jury award to a Republic striker who suffered a permanent brain injury when struck by company police who raided a union soup kitchen on the night of July 26, 1937.

Settlements for deaths in the Memorial Day massacre at South Chicago ranged from $6,000 to $7,500 — the American bosses do not value the life of a worker too highly. This Memorial Day Massacre shocked the entire labor movement. The police of Mayor Kelly, a staunch supporter of Roosevelt, conspired with company police of Republic Steel to attack marching strikers. They shot, beat, and tear-gassed their victims.

Movies taken of the massacre were ordered suppressed. The real facts about the massacre were likewise suppressed. The entire capitalist press did its utmost to slander the strikers and to fix on them the blame for the slaughter. Only a deeply aroused labor movement succeeded in bringing out the truth.

News of the settlement of the many suits in the Little Steel strike, including suits over property damage, personal injury and false arrest in Chicago, Cleveland, Canton, Massilon and Youngstown, has likewise now been deliberately suppressed. The January 6 *Business Week* alone gave the item a few paragraphs. The ruling class does not want to remind the working class during the war that the American bosses, like British capitalists in Greece, do not hesitate to turn their guns on unarmed workers in order to halt the rise of the labor movement.

Republic Steel has at last admitted its full guilt for the bloodshed in the Little Steel strike. They have paid blood money to the families of the slain. The capitalists now hope that the American working class will forget the force and violence that was used against the CIO in the Little Steel strike.

But the American workers will never forget these labor martyrs who were sacrificed on the altar of greed. They will never forget the heroes who gave their lives to build the Steel Union. And they will yet settle their accounts in full with the steel barons and Wall Street leeches whose profits drip with the blood of the working class.

Big Steal Formula

The Little Steel formula, Roosevelt's stooges tell the workers, is necessary to prevent inflation. Roosevelt's administration has an entirely different attitude, however, towards Big Business. Last week Price Administrator Bowles authorized increased prices on five basic steel products. These increases ranged from 4 percent to nearly 10 percent. Steel profits will rise $36 million a year as a result.

The steel industry is already shaking down approximately $750 million a year. This is three and a half times its pre-war take.

The formula used by the OPA to increase the profits of the steel bosses deserves study by every militant trade unionist now caught in the vise of Roosevelt's wage freeze.

The first principle is that an industry can get its profits increased provided any of its products are selling below cost. Profits may be scandalously high in one section of a huge industrial empire, but if they drop below a certain level in another section then OPA will raise price ceilings.

The second principle is that the price increases are made on the basis of the corporation's own cost figures. Expert accountants are paid to adjust bookkeeping figures of costs with this formula in mind. If a steel company for instance makes fabulous profits in its mines or smelters but shows a slight loss on rolled steel products, then OPA will raise the price ceilings.

The third principle is still more revealing. If the OPA raises prices on one product, it is supposed to lower them on another as "compensation." But the OPA conveniently forgets to lower prices in accordance with this provision.

Thus Roosevelt's administration does not hesitate in the least to smash the Little Steel formula when it is a question of increasing the profits of the capitalists. Only when the workers demand wage increases to meet the rising cost of living does Roosevelt insist that the formula cannot be broken.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor*

Tresca Meeting

Editor:

There was another side to the memorial meeting for Carlo Tresca which you did not deal with. To me it was a tragic side.

Those in charge of the meeting were a conglomeration of "has-beens" and escapists from Marxism, and the meeting reflected their unmilitant and patriotic attitude.

For example, they closed the meeting with the playing of the Star Spangled Banner. But at this point the spirit of "national unity" was broken by the young workers present. They demanded and began to sing "Bandiera Rossa," the traditional revolutionary battle-song of the Italian workers.

They were the ones who really expressed the living spirit of Carlo Tresca rather than those "has-beens" who basked in the glory of his struggles for the working class.

M. Freed
New York

Flag-Waver

Editor:

In the shop a few days ago I overheard a heated discussion taking place among several workers on the merits of the no-strike pledge. The pledge had only two supporters in the group and one of them was very loud in his support. He proclaimed for everyone to hear how much he loved his country and the red, white and blue, etc. He didn't convince anyone who was listening to him by his flag-waving.

A few days later I saw in the evening paper that he had been taken out of the plant by the F. B. I. for dealing in black market gas coupons.

This Stalinist, I later found out that is what he is, got out on bail and reappeared at the shop. He came in with a whole stack of literature for the no-strike pledge under his arm. I heard one worker say that this fellow is not a good socialist because he exploits his fellow workers by selling them gas coupons at 75 cents and a dollar, and he isn't even the patriot he claims to be.

The workers will not be fooled by these company stooges who talk themselves up as great patriots, whether they dabble in the black market or not.

A. C.
Toledo

Ideas and Reality

Editor:

Many of the old sayings and proverbs cannot stand the light of reason. One such is, "As a man thinketh so is he." Perhaps one day in the far distant past, before the recording of history began, man was a free agent, wishing to be, let us say, a master of men. He needed but to rub a lamp a la Aladdin, or "hit the pipe" and think that he was a master of men, when presto! he would be surrounded by a flock of slaves.

In this day and age men think they are one thing and are something entirely different. An owner of a small retail store may think that by being in business he ranks in class with the DuPonts, Fords et al. Should the war end tomorrow war work would cease, and the chances are a hundred to one that within a short time he would be one of the millions of men seeking a job.

Not so the DuPont-Ford class; possessing their millions they would continue living in affluence, thinking that their class was ever to continue "as is." Time will prove to them that they too are not as they thinketh.

R. H. M.
Carbon, Ind.

Technocrats and Labor Conscription

Editor:

I wonder if the Technocrats aren't launching a campaign in the unions for their "total conscription" campaign, taking their cue from Roosevelt's latest "slave labor" conscription demand. Or perhaps the incident in Buick Local 599, UAW-CIO, here was an isolated incident.

A young fellow, who recently took a withdrawal from the local, was granted a few minutes under "good and welfare" to talk on "total conscription."

He explained he favored labor conscription, (at army pay, etc.) but it ought to include also conscription of wealth, etc. etc. It developed he had possibly three or four sympathizers, in the hall, but the majority made it clear they wanted no part of conscription. A couple of members easily showed what a fraud "total conscription" would be when administered by Wall Street's agents. Only labor would be really conscripted. One speaker drew a parallel with the "equality of sacrifice" program, under which only labor sacrificed. "Equality of conscription" would be the same thing.

Twice the membership killed attempts to get favorable action on "total conscription" and then wound up with an almost unanimous vote that the secretary write to the UAW and CIO and to Congressmen and Senators in opposition to labor conscription and in support of the recent union statements against "slave labor." Two Stalinists tried in vain to head off this letter with flag-waving pleas to support "our Commander-in-Chief."

J. T.
Flint, Michigan

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Italy

The Stalinists in Italy are conscientiously performing their function as agents of Allied counter-revolution. On December 24, General Arnaldo Azzi, the Regional Commander of the Central Provinces, demanded speedier democratization of the Army and the removal of all Monarchist emblems.

Azzi's mild and timid demand, however, stirred a hornet's nest among the former fascist army generals and Monarchists who are doing their utmost, aided by Allied bayonets, to preserve the hated House of Savoy. They protested against Azzi's republicanism. Someone jerked the strings on which the Allied puppet Bonomi dangles, and he acted in remarkable contrast to the slowness of his purge of former fascists and Nazi collaborators. Azzi got the sack.

The Socialists, the Action Party and other avowed "democrats" who feel the rage of the masses began shouting that the purge had gone into "reverse." They demanded that Azzi be returned to his command.

For a while the issue was hot. The highly unstable Bonomi government was under heavy pressure. Everything depended on the Stalinists who had made possible the setting up of the Bonomi regime in the first place by taking posts and sharing its criminal responsibilities.

After a week of judicious silence, the Stalinists finally took action — against Azzi. The would-be democrat who dared talk against Monarchist emblems in the army must remain purged, they ruled. If the Monarchist emblems in the army are good enough for the former fascists, then evidently they are good enough for the Stalinists.

Canada

The wide-spread opposition to imperialist war among the Canadian masses was graphically revealed January 20 when National Defense Headquarters admitted that 6,300 soldiers out of 15,600 scheduled to go overseas are absent without official leave. 8,300 draftees have been disembarked in Europe.

Canada's armies were built on the promise that they would be used only for defense on home soil and no one would be sent abroad unless he volunteered. On November 23; however, Premier MacKenzie King ordered 16,000 men be sent abroad whether they volunteered or not. This violation of government promises precipitated a major political crisis. Thousands of anti-war demonstrators appeared in the streets of many large cities of Canada with placards denouncing conscription and in some cases demanding the conscription of wealth.

The King government managed to weather that crisis but now faces another serious setback. Its inability to force more than 8,300 of the 16,000 overseas indicates a powerful general sentiment to resist government policy. The Mackenzie King government is demonstrably growing more and more unpopular and it is doubtful whether it can survive a threatened general election.

France

De Gaulle who is depicted as a shining champion of democracy, is actually a reactionary set up by the Allies to govern France and suppress the revolutionary movement of the workers. Since the Allied occupation of France he has been busy consolidating his position. One of the forces he counts upon is a terroristic secret service modelled on the fascist OVRA and the Nazi GESTAPO. A few facts concerning de Gaulle's secret police have come out in the Consultative Assembly.

During the German occupation, all underground activity controlled by de Gaulle's emigre government was centered in a London committee called the Bureau Central de Renseignements et d'Action. **Its chief was Colonel de Wavrin, one-time private secretary of General Deloncle, head of the pre-war native French fascist movement known as the "Cagoulards" or hooded men. This committee is now attached directly to de Gaulle's personal secretariat where it cannot be investigated without his permission.**

The *Bureau Central* began setting up secret files on French partisans while the Germans still held France, listing everyone suspected of critical views of de Gaulle. Now they have a secret card-index of Resistance members.

In the Consultative Assembly, Pascal Copeau, former general secretary of the M.L.N. Resistance Movement, charged that de Gaulle's secret service is censoring legitimate political correspondence, is blocking purges of fascists and former collaborators, and that it has placed under secret arrest several hundred persons who are being held without charging them with any offense.

De Gaulle did not answer these charges. He simply ordered the French military censorship to ban any mention of the matter in the French press.

On the following day new protests of de Gaulle's dictatorial actions were made in the Consultative Assembly. One of de Gaulle's entourage attempted an answer that was ludicrously weak, alleging that the secret committee had performed good services during the German occupation and that a former Socialist editor, Brossolette, had died in its service. Copeau answered angrily that Brossolette had simply moved with its technical help and under its control.

This discussion was likewise placed under the censorship ban so that the French workers can be kept in ignorance of the activities of de Gaulle's terroristic organization.

Hungary

The government recently set up in Hungary with which the Allies have signed an armistice closely resembles the governments newly-installed in Bulgaria and Rumania. It pursues the policy of preserving capitalism, while remaining under the political control of the Kremlin. Stalin is using as his tools the most reactionary and venal figures from the old regime.

As head of the government of Hungary, for instance, he has placed General Bela Miklos. This blood-thirsty militarist backed up the former Horthy dictatorship to the hilt throughout the period of alliance with Nazi Germany. So outstanding were the services of Miklos to Nazism that he became the first Hungarian to receive personally from Hitler the Knight Grand Cross of the Iron Cross.

These services were not rendered wholly within the borders of Hungary. On the contrary Hitler decorated Miklos for what he did for the Reich on the Voronezh Front in Russia. Stalin has picked, consequently, a man who has already proved his worth as a defender of counter-revolution.

The Stalinists have made it clear that they do not intend to overthrow the capitalist system in Hungary. On the contrary, they announce that they will bolster it up.

General Electric Accused Of Ties With Nazi Cartel

The General Electric Company, one of the biggest beneficiaries of government war orders, has participated in a world-wide conspiracy with German, French, British, Japanese, Belgian and Italian corporations to maintain a monopoly in restraint of trade in the manufacture and sale of electrical equipment, according to charges filed on January 18 by the Department of Justice anti-trust division.

This conspiracy has had for its purpose the division of the entire world into spheres of influence, mutually safeguarded by the corporations involved, in which each would have exclusive monopoly control. General Electric was given exclusive rights in the United States. The Nazi firm had control of Germany proper, as well as Austria, Danzig and Memel prior to their invasion.

According to Assistant Attorney General Berge, the suit was instituted because the government has evidence that GE has not only not cancelled its agreements with firms in Axis countries, but is "planning to negotiate similar agreements" in the future.

General Electric, it is charged, withheld from the government "access to the patents and technical knowledge of foreign companies" and only released such information "after Pearl Harbor by direct order of the Government exercising its war powers."

The cartel agreements acted to maintain high prices and limit production. A GE vice president is quoted: "It is to the interest of the Electric Vacuum Cleaner Co., the Edison Electrical Appliance Co., and similarly situated (GE) companies to refrain from selling in the territory of the Allgemeine Electricitaets Gesellschaft (Nazi) because that company, being generally in a position to market their products in the U.S.A. at low prices, might act conversely. This would result, we fear in a general lowering of prices of these products in this country."

There have been 30 other such anti-cartel suits against American monopolies filed in the past four years. On request of Roosevelt's War and Navy Departments most of them have been "postponed for the duration" so as not to "interfere with the war effort."

War Or Peace -- Corporation Patent 'Rights' Respected

When the capitalist government wants to put a worker into uniform, freeze his wages, shackle him to his job, or shift him into a lower-paying job, it doesn't ask the worker's consent. By decree and by law, the government secures "co-operation"—or else.

That's not the attitude to the employers and owning class. Even if the government is engaged in a war, the big business monopolies are required to do only what is profitable for them.

Take the matter of patents, for instance. This is one of the big headaches of the government war production program. The monopoly corporations have been very jealous of infringements on patents which the government requires for war purposes.

Secretary of Navy Forrestal has had to write a plea to the 18,000 Navy contractors to "agree, in consideration of others so agreeing, that they will not assert any claims for patent infringement arising out of the utilization of inventions during the war for governmental purposes." Such claims, it appears, "will constitute a vexatious problem in the postwar and reconversion scene."

The Roosevelt government is very careful about infringing on the patents controlled by the capitalists without their consent. That would be a violation of private property "rights." But it does not hesitate to snatch up and regiment workers for any purpose it desires. After all, that involves "only" the welfare and lives of the working people.

Why the RFC Is Called "Relief for Capitalists"

The current inter-capitalist clique squabble over whether Roosevelt's Henry Wallace or Roosevelt's Jesse Jones shall head the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has served one beneficial purpose. It has focused attention once more upon this government agency for diverting public wealth into the gaping pockets of the Wall Street monopolists.

This RFC agency, popularly known as "Relief For Capitalists," was established originally by "High-Collar" Hoover. It was continued under Roosevelt, whose generosity to the bankers and industrialists has made the not inconsiderable hand-outs of the Hoover regime seem like the pinch-penny offerings of a Scrooge.

Unemployed workers during the depression had to riot and demonstrate all over the country to obtain even starvation "relief." But the Roosevelt administration poured out lavish billions to the big corporations. The bankers and bosses thrived on soaring profits syphoned from these government loans, while 10,000,000 workers still walked the streets.

The magnitude of Roosevelt's solicitude for the capitalists was revealed in Jones' report last week. The RFC handles assets of some $42,000,000,000 (that's billions!) and has authorized "advances" and investments of over $33,000,000,000.

Heading the list of RFC outlays are the funds provided during the war for new plants and machinery to expand the giant empires of the steel, auto, rubber, oil and similar monopolies. The Roosevelt administration's plans are already far advanced for turning these government-built productive facilities over to the corporations for a song.

Included in the direct hand-outs of the RFC have been loans aggregating $3,395,400,000 to banks, building and loan associations, insurance companies and mortgage loan companies; capital investments of $1,393,000,000 to banks and insurance firms; $1,503,000,000 in loans to the railroad monopolies. General loans to industrialists amount to $2,838,400,000. Over half of the latter loans are described as for "non-defense" purposes.